FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-182
Thursday
21 September 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-182 *21 September 1989*

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Ramiz Alia Speaks on Peze Anniversary *[BASHKIMI 17 Sep]* 1
Journalists Discuss Eastern Europe, Colombia *[BASHKIMI 17 Sep]* 2
ATA Reports on Mother Theresa's Health *[ATA]* 3

BULGARIA

'German Question' Raised Again With Refugees *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 19 Sep]* 4
BTA Warsaw Correspondent on Polish Government *[POGLED 18 Sep]* 5
Israel's Development of Missile Viewed *[NARODNA ARMIYA 15 Sep]* 6
Muslim Workers Not Accepted in Former Jobs *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 16 Sep]* 7
Shortcomings in Harvesting Surveyed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 19 Sep]* 7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Physician's 'Unlawful Overflight' to FRG Viewed *[CTK]* 9
FRG Citizen Violates Air Space 19 Sep *[CTK]* 9
Denmark's Schluter Receives Marko-Led Delegation *[RUDE PRAVO 13 Sep]* 9
Amount of Forints Sold to Tourists Increases *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep]* 9
Bulgarian Envoy Praises Prague on Refugee Stance *[Bratislava PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 9
$20 Million Contract With Egypt Concluded *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep]* 10
Vietnamese Party Delegation Visits Slovakia *[Bratislava PRAVDA 19 Sep]* 10
Pavelka on Foreign Exchange Market *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep]* 10
New Nuclear Plant Design Developed *[RUDE PRAVO 16 Sep]* 12
Changes in Journalists' Role Deemed 'Better' *[Risko on Prague Radio]* 12
Husak Presents Awards to Journalists 15 Sep *[Prague Radio]* 13

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Yeltsin Reunification, USSR Remarks Criticized *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Sep]* 14
FRG Uses SS Files To Prove Ethnic Origin *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Sep]* 14
Use of SS Files Criticized *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Sep]* 14
Schmalkalden, Recklinghausen Twinning Pact *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 18 Sep]* 15
CDU's Goetting Honors Greek Victims of Nazis *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 18 Sep]* 15
Meets Prime Minister Tzannetakis *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Sep]* 15
Maneuvers 'Diametrically Opposed' to Talks *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Sep]* 16
SED, RCP Institutes Strengthen Ties *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 18 Sep]* 16
Bishop Leich Urges Dialogue as Partners *[Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 18 Sep]* 16
Peace Group Members Given Jail Sentences *[Hamburg DPA]* 18
Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-19 Sep *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 18-20 Sep]* 18

HUNGARY

Szuros Holds Washington News Conference *[Budapest Radio]* 19
Details of GDR Citizens' Crossings Reported *[MTI]* 19
Justice Minister Cited on GDR Refugee Problem *[Budapest Radio]* 19
GDR Agents 'Kidnap' Children of Refugees *[Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG 17 Sep]* 19
'Harrassment' of Ex-Romanian Official Increases *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Kulcsar Received by FRG's Genscher *[MTI]* 20
Social Democratic Party Members Train in Vienna *[Vienna Radio]* 20
Horn Receives Iraqi, Palestinian Envoys *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Trade Minister on Foreign Investment *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 18 Sep]* 21
Medgyessy Discusses Foreign Economic Relations *[NEPSZABADSAG 13 Sep]* 22

Reform Platform on MSZMP Renewal Published *[MAGYAR NEMZET 13 Sep]* 24
Government Spokesman Discusses Session *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 15 Sep]* 25
Dudla Announces Retirement From Office *[MTI]* 25
'Communique' on SZOT Meeting Published *[NEPSZAVA 8 Sep]* 26
SZOT's Kovacs on Leaving Roundtable Talks *[NEPSZAVA 8 Sep]* 27
Nyers Letter to Pozsgay on New Movement *[NEPSZABADSAG 16 Sep]* 27
Nemeth Meets With Several Church Leaders *[MTI]* 28
New Professional Trade Union Established *[MTI]* 28

POLAND

Tourism Promotion Agreement Signed With U.S. *[PAP]* 29
GDR Refugees Moved From FRG Embassy *[PAP]* 29
FRG Spokesman on Embassy Closing *[PAP]* 29
Warsaw TV Report on Closing 29
Mazowiecki Vows Not To Return Refugees to GDR *[Hamburg DPA]* 30
Michnik Urges Dialogue With Lithuania, Ukraine *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 18 Sep]* 30
Inaugural Kiev Perestroyka Congress Reported *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 14 Sep]* 31
Minister Comments on Poland's CEMA Trade *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 14 Sep]* 31
Israeli Representative on Shamir's Comments *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 15-17 Sep]* 32
Poland To Seek Japanese Automaker's Cooperation *[Tokyo KYODO]* 33
Jaruzelski Addresses CSCE Journalists *[TRYBUNA LUDU 18 Sep]* 34
Rakowski Visits Scene of Dispute With Solidarity *[Warsaw Radio]* 35
Staff Colonel on Army Personnel Cuts *[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 16-17 Sep]* 36
French Daily Interviews OPZZ' Miodowicz *[Paris LE MONDE 9 Sep]* 37
PZPR Theorist Regains Party Membership *[PAP]* 37
Kuron Interviewed on Gas Price Increase *[Warsaw TV]* 38
Walesa Meets With UPP Chairman Ludwiczak *[PAP]* 38
Moczulski Outlines Goals of KPN *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 18 Sep]* 38
Torun Transport Workers End Strike *[PAP]* 39
PAX Daily Examines Polish Nuclear Project *[SLOWO POWSZECHNE 18 Sep]* 39
'Full Sovereignty' Needed for Progress *[Kolodziejckyk in SLOWO POWSZECHNE 15-16-17 Sep]* 41

ROMANIA

Ceausescu, Elena Visit Botosani County 17 Sep *[AGERPRES]* 43
Visit Continues *[AGERPRES]* 43
Couple Meets Local Officials *[AGERPRES]* 44
Ceausescu Speaks at Rally *[SCINTEIA 19 Sep]* 44
Return to Bucharest *[AGERPRES]* 48
Ceausescu Greets Israel's Herzog on Birthday *[SCINTEIA 17 Sep]* 48

YUGOSLAVIA

Loncar Discusses U.S. Relations, Domestic Policy *[DIE WELT 16-17 Sep]* 49
Belgrade Lawyers Visit U.S. Ambassador *[POLITIKA 8 Sep]* 50
FRG Parliamentary Delegation Visits Belgrade 51
Received by Jovic *[Belgrade Radio]* 51
Further on Talks *[TANJUG]* 51
Markovic, Norwegian Trade Minister on Cooperation *[TANJUG]* 51
Loncar Cites 'Decisive Step' at Summit *[Paris LE MONDE 9 Sep]* 51
Marendic Says Government Should Resign *[BORBA 19 Sep]* 52
BORBA Criticizes Sardelic for 'Serbophobia' *[Dubljevic in BORBA 15 Sep]* 52
Sipovac Hits Sardelic 'Fabrications' *[TANJUG]* 53
Medjumurje Construction Workers End Strike *[TANJUG]* 54
Rakovica Workers Protest Inflation 13 Sep *[BORBA 14 Sep]* 54
Stari Named Presidency Secretary General *[TANJUG]* 54
LCY CC Adopts Stand on Forming New Bodies *[TANJUG]* 54
Appeal to Stop Rival Nationalist Soccer Fans at Match *[TANJUG]* 55
Slovene Presidium Supports Constitutional Changes *[Belgrade Radio]* 55
Serbian SAWP Reduces Membership *[TANJUG]* 56

'Serbian Mass Movement' Plans for Dalmatia *[Celan in BORBA 8 Sep]* 56
Serbian Assembly Discusses Inflation, Kosovo *[Zagreb Radio]* 57
Serbia Issues Economic Statement on Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 57
Kurteshi, Former Kosovo Leaders To Be Tried *[RILINDJA 10 Sep]* 58
Kosovo Demonstrators Jailed for 30-60 Days *[TANJUG]* 58
Kosovo Assembly Notes Failure of Program *[TANJUG]* 58
Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Views Situation *[Belgrade Radio]* 59
Police Identify over 1,600 Kosovo Demo Participants *[TANJUG]* 59
Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Rejects 'Claims' *[TANJUG]* 60

Ramiz Alia Speaks on Peze Anniversary

AU2009130989 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 17 Sep 89 p 1

["From the Speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia," Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at Peze on 16 September: "The Continuity of Partisan Ideals Means the Continuity of Socialism"]

[Text] Dear comrades, on this happy day, Comrade Ramiz Alia said among other things, I would like to congratulate the people of Peze and everybody present here on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the Conference of Peze. This was one of the most momentous events in the National Liberation War. It was here that the foundations of the unity of the Albanian people were laid. This unity continues to be a decisive factor in all our victories even today.

The Conference of Peze gave fresh impetus to extending the struggle for the country's liberation, and set guidelines for the creation of the people's state, enabling the people to take power. With hindsight, we realize once again that, after the foundation of the party, the Conference of Peze was one of Comrade Enver Hoxha's most brilliant ideas. It was not only communists who were to carry out the struggle. The fight was to be fought and won by all the people, with the party at their head, just as it is the people today, led by the party, who are building socialism. This fundamental idea, that it is the masses who ensure victory, inspired the Communist Party to hold the Conference of Peze and to create the National Liberation Front, which was to unite the entire country in the epic story of national and social liberation.

We have done well, he pointed out, to dedicate on this very day, recalling 16 September 1942, this monument to Father Myslim, a son of heroic Peze [Myslim Peza, nicknamed "father," a distinguished partisan fighter and close friend of Enver Hoxha]. Father Myslim was a brave fighter—a man of the gun, but also a political leader. He fought all his life with all his strength for the cause of the people, the freedom of the homeland, and for socialism, following the party's teachings. We always remember Father Myslim not only as a legendary commander and a great general in our National Liberation War, but as a man of the people who learned the party line in the school of life. We will remember him for his loyalty to Enver Hoxha and his revolutionary perseverance in the cause of socialism.

The Politburo, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, made the decision to erect a monument to Father Myslim on the direct initiative of Comrade Enver. With this monument, we honor his memory and his achievement, but we also honor all the people of Peze. Father Myslim cannot be separated from Peze, just as Peze cannot be separated from Father Myslim. When we mention the heroism shown by Father Myslim, we also mention the heroism of the people of Peze, which is a special kind of heroism in the annals of our nation, and we also mention these people's determination in working and struggling to build socialism.

Other comrades have talked about the great changes that have taken place here in Peze. The place is now as different as night from day, and is barely recognizable. The positive results that have been achieved testify to the determined, skilled, and self-sacrificing labor of the people of Peze. Peze, which set an example in the war, now sets an example in work.

The all-round results of this area reflect the healthy situation that pervades the entire country. On the whole, during 45 years of socialist life, Albania has developed well. This year's achievements are also significant. Data show that plans in industry, agriculture, national income, foreign trade, and so forth, will be fulfilled to a higher degree than ever before during this 5-year period.

Our country, he later underlined, is politically, economically, and socially stable, is experiencing dynamic development, and has clear prospects ahead of it. We are aware that there are difficulties and shortages in some fields. However, when we see how we have progressed, and look at what is happening elsewhere, we feel proud of the achievements of socialist Albania. We are a small country, but we are the only country building socialism and furthering our all-round development without stretching out our palm to anybody. We are not swimming in prosperity, but we are securing everything we need through our own sweat. Above all, we are proud of being free, independent, and sovereign, and we are proud that we make every decision according to the will of the people and the interests of the homeland, without being beholden to anybody.

Everybody is looking at what is happening in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and other countries of the East. The revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, abandoned the ideals of socialism, and taken the path of counterrevolutionary reform. These countries now find themselves in a dire economic crisis, and are sunk in debt. Social and ethnic conflicts have broken out everywhere. They have opened the gates to foreign capital. The essence of the current reforms is the extension of private property. Class oppression and exploitation have been reimposed.

Our party and Comrade Enver predicted 3 decades ago where this treachery would lead the revisionists. What is happening today confirms the justice of the heroic struggle of the Albanian Workers Party to defend Marxism. The phenomenon of counterrevolutionary reform provides bitter experience, from which the necessary lessons must be drawn.

If we speak with optimism today about the future of socialism in Albania, and if we are progressing surely in all fields, this is not because we are economically more powerful than these countries, or because we have richer natural resources, but because we have followed the

correct Marxist-Leninist path. Seen in the light of current world developments, the achievement of our party and the Albanian people is a magnificent one. Our country is making progress at a stable rate because our development has been carried out in a natural way, without stress and haste.

One of the areas where the revisionists are encountering very great difficulties, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, is in the countryside. The mistaken policies pursued in these countries have led to a flight from the countryside in the name of industrialization, leaving agriculture to bear the burden of—but failing to meet—the demands of the people. In contrast, the policy pursued by our party and Comrade Enver has considered agriculture to be the basis of our development. From the liberation to the present day, the motto of the party and our people has been that agriculture concerns everybody, and nothing must be denied it. It is this correct agrarian policy, that forms a close tie between the peasant and the land, which has made possible harmonious agricultural development in all parts of the country, and has fulfilled the people's needs for food.

In our case, socialist progress has been achieved in all fields through a consideration of our special conditions. We have given priority to heavy industry not out of a spirit of imitation, but in order to use our natural resources for the benefit of the country. We therefore did not first call for the development of a mechanical engineering industry, but opened mines, built iron and steelworks, and developed the oil and hydroelectric industries. The structure of our economy's production, made stronger by our country's scientific and cultural potential, has ensured the best-possible use of our labor and natural resources. The principle of reliance on our own resources has now long been proved to be correct and effective.

The fundamental duty of the party is to reinforce the development we have achieved, always advancing on the socialist road. In industry, let us process the country's raw materials more intensively, in order to extract as much value as possible from them, for the people's benefit. In agriculture, let us create conditions for a further leap forward. Let us take steps forward in the quality of education, culture, science, and learning. Socialism is a matter of quality, learning, productivity, and prosperity. At our present stage, our development has been significant. Let us work unceasingly to meet the demands posed by this stage of our development.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

I wish you all once again every joy at this celebration. I would also like to use this occasion to greet the former partisans of the 22nd Assault Brigade, which is today celebrating the 45th anniversary of its formation. Lift high the partisan banner of the National Liberation War and its ideals, for these ideals are and always will be a source of inspiration for all our people. Without the National Liberation War, there would be no free Albania. The continuity of partisan ideals means the continuity of socialist construction.

Long live the party!

Long live the people of Peze!

Long live the Albanian people!

Journalists Discuss Eastern Europe, Colombia

AU2009125189 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 17 Sep 89 p 4

["Discussion of the Week's Events in Our Editorial Office—Our Guests Napoleon Roshi, Director of Foreign Radio Broadcasting, and Maksim Sinemati, Director of the Foreign Section of ATA"; date not given]

[Excerpt]

Eastern Europe

N. Roshi: In the Soviet Union is particular, the economic situation is deteriorating. This shows that "perestroyka" has not achieved a single result in this field.

M. Sinemati: Gorbachev admitted this himself in a recent television interview, when he said that the situation is serious, that "perestroyka" has not yet yielded any tangible results; we can say that up until now it has failed. Two main issues that he mentioned are interethnic problems, which have become more serious especially in the Transcaucasian and Baltic republics, in Georgia, Armenia, Moldavia, and elsewhere; and the problem of major supply shortages for the people. In this context, he mentioned the part of the Soviet Union beyond the Urals as one of the areas where economic problems are most acute.

N. Roshi: This week in Poland, a new government has been formed with only four members of the "Communist" Party. The race toward capitalism is now so fast and is becoming a process so thorough that the leader of the "Communist" Party himself, Rakowski, has called for the old party to form a new party of the social-democratic kind. Of course, such an event will be reflected in the economy and in the entire life of society. Moreover, there is another aspect to this in the satisfaction caused in the West by such a process, which involves, among other things, political pluralism.

M. Sinemati: Political pluralism is also being introduced in Hungary. Next year, there will be elections there involving many political parties, thus accomplishing the transition to a bourgeois-style parliamentary system.

N. Roshi: The processes we have mentioned have exacerbated the contradictions among the member states of the Warsaw Pact political and military group. In particular, this deterioration is evident in relations between Hungary and the GDR. The contradictions that have arisen between these two countries concern, among other things, the permission granted to East German citizens

to cross the Hungarian border in order to emigrate to the West, in contravention of bilateral agreements. Moscow has so far been unable to smooth out the disagreements between these two countries.

In all these events, what is most arresting is the fact that world capitalism is overjoyed and has expressed satisfaction at these trends, launching the slogan that all this shows "the failure of socialism." The truth is utterly different: This is not a matter of the failure of socialism, because the socialist order was scrapped in these countries long ago. Everything that is happening in Eastern Europe is the result of the revisionist course adopted years ago, first by the Khrushchev revisionists, and then by others. There is a clear, open commitment on the part of world capitalism in support of processes leading these countries further on the capitalist road. Boris Yeltsin, the representative of the liberal wing of the Soviet leadership, has been paying a visit to the United States recently. This politician, who enjoys Gorbachev's support, met Bush and other senior United States officials, from whom he received promises that the United States Administration would unreservedly support the processes taking place in Eastern Europe. It is clear that world capitalism is worried about the possible failure of "perestroyka."

M. Sinemati: Yeltsin said outright that "perestroyka" is faced with the risk of failure.

N. Roshi: The same generosity has been shown toward Poland. Bush said that he would give Poland $50 million in aid during the next 2 months, merely to support the private sector.

Large-scale aid was also promised to Hungary. This shows that the West is committed to supporting political processes in Eastern Europe that will confirm that these countries will follow the capitalist road.

The Drug Mafia and United States Intervention in Colombia

M. Sinemati: The Mafia cartel centered in the city of Medellin in Colombia has been active for a long time, but has recently been at the center of world attention, especially after the open war declared against it by the Colombian Government. This shows that this criminal organization, that deals in narcotics produced from the coca plant, has considerable strength, based on its enormous financial profits. Washington has used this opportunity to offer "help" to the Colombian Government. It has offered specialists, military equipment, aircraft, and troops, on the pretext that the Mafia center trading in drugs is based in Colombia. Meanwhile, facts show that the "head" of the drug-taking Mafia is based in the United States, and not in Colombia. The mayor of Medellin recently announced that "The base of the drug Mafia is not in Colombia, but in the United States." It is therefore obvious that the United States is seeking a pretext for military intervention in Colombia.

N. Roshi: It is not irrelevant to mention the Irangate scandal now. The White House used the profits from the illegal drug trade to fund counterrevolutionary bands in Nicaragua. There was evidence to show that President Reagan himself made use of this form of contraband in order achieve his aims.

The United States is obviously trying to strengthen its position in Latin America. There has been an increasing anti-American mood on this continent in recent years. Under the pretext of the war on drugs, the United States has intervened in Bolivia, Peru, and now Colombia. We are in fact dealing with a sophisticated form of United States imperialist intervention in Latin America. [passage omitted]

ATA Reports on Mother Theresa's Health

AU1709133289 Tirana ATA in English
0815 GMT 17 Sep 89

["On Mother Theresa's Health Condition"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 17 (ATA)—Today, the newspaper BASHKIMI carries the news on the above title, which says:

As the news agencies report, the renowned Albanian benefactress and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Mother Theresa (Gonxhe Bojaxhiu), who paid a visit to Albania recently, was hospitalized in a crucial health condition, in a hospital of the Indian city, Calcutta. With regard to this, the reports point out that she suffered from heart troubles, associated with arrhythmia and high temperature and add that due to the efforts by Calcutta physicians, Mother Theresa's condition has kept slightly improving.

Likewise, the reports referring to a spokesman of the hospital stress that numerous well-wishers have expressed their wishes for her quick recovery.

'German Question' Raised Again With Refugees

AU2109091489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Sep 89 p 5

[Radoslav Velev article: "Experience Teaches"]

[Text] Whoever is familiar with the development of relations between the two German states will agree that these relations in 1989 are somehow similar to those of 1949, when the GDR was proclaimed a state. In responding to this act of historical importance the West German bourgeois media at that time were literally competing to predict the forthcoming collapse of the German workers and peasants state. It would not have lasted even a few months, according to them.

Today (after 4 decades) we can observe a revival of similar dangerous illusions among the people who live on the shores of the Rhine. Those illusions, however, were destroyed by experience in the past. Today they are based on the problem which emerged around GDR citizens in Hungary who expressed the wish to emigrate to the FRG. Revanchist and neo-fascist circles are visibly intensifying their activities in this connection. Unfortunately, the faded banners of the "German question" and of "Germany's reunification" are once more being raised, and this not only applies to the abovementioned circles. Some people actually reject the successes achieved in normalizing, improving, and further developing bilateral relations between the two German states on the solid basis of mutual agreement which were pursued with so much effort and endeavor by both Berlin and Bonn. It is true that along with expressions of nationalistic emotions, voices of responsible public figures and politicians are heard speaking with more common sense and restraint. If this trend should prevail as a basic approach to the settlement of the existing frictions and disagreements, it would be realistic to expect an allevation of the current tension and a solution of the emerging problems. This is in the interest of the FRG, the GDR, and the Hungarian People's Republic, as well as in the interest of the other European states and of all forces which are struggling to transform the "old continent" into a continent of optimally mutually advantageous cooperation and increasingly strengthening mutal understanding.

Hungary also was involved in an issue directly affecting the two German states. The regulations concerning the Hungarian-Austrian borders were drastically liberalized in May 1989. The so-called "opening" of the borders between Hungary and Austria was intentionally and purposefully advertised by the West German mass media as a "unique opportunity" for GDR citizens staying in Hungary to cross the border without a valid permit and travel to the FRG. The powerful, propaganda-recruting campaign did not fail to produce its results. A certain group of GDR citizens who were spending their vacations in Hungary refused to return to their homeland, expressing the wish to leave for the FRG. Intense diplomatic contacts, which were not deprived of tension, were conducted between Bonn, Berlin, and Budapest on this issue. Hungary unexpectedly and unilaterally canceled certain parts of the bilateral agreement with the GDR on crossing the Hungarian borders without visa. The practical result of this measure was the beginning of the exodus of GDR citizens who were unwilling to return to their home country from the Hungarian territory and went to the FRG through Austria.

The recently published note of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs points out that the GDR on several occasions submitted specific and constructive proposals aimed at a coordinated solution of the problem that has emerged. Until recently, GDR citizens had been staying in the FRG permament mission in the GDR. On that occasion Bonn and Berlin reached an agreement as a result of which the GDR citizens voluntarily left the FRG permanent mission and returned to their homes. The GDR thinks that such an agreement could have been reached in the case of GDR citizens staying on Hungarian territory, who expressed their wish to emigrate to the FRG. In its note of reply the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic explained its decision based on the argument that negotiations between the FRG and the GDR had been unsuccessful. Discussing the Hungarian decision to provide opportunity for GDR citizens to depart for a third country, Gyula Horn, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, declared that it was Budapest's wish for GDR citizens who refuse to return to their own country to leave Hungary. "Our country can no longer stand such a difficult situation," he stated. According to Western sources, the number of GDR citizens who crossed the Hungarian-Austrian borders and arrived in the GDR had reached 16,000 by 18 September 1989. It was announced from Budapest that the Hungarian People's Republic does not intend to revoke its decision adopted last week.

It is impossible, from the outside, to propose specific prescriptions for smoothing over the existing disagreements between two countries which are our allies and friends. A basic point of decisive importance in this respect is the mutual readiness declared by the Hungarian People's Republic and the GDR to further develop their friendly relations. It is now necessary to emphasize this readiness and to support it by constructive actions aimed at finding a mutually satisfactory way out of this difficult situation. No approaches can, or should be used that cannot be brought into harmony with the common interests of two allied, socialist countries.

The tension that has emerged from this issue between Bonn, Berlin, and Budapest, shows that the process of building a common European home is no safeguard against unexpected disturbances, or even more serious trials. There is no and there will be no automatic acceptance of new political thinking in relations between countries with different social systems on our continent. The lessons of the postwar development can greatly contribute to a more accelerated, less painful, and more reliable progress of the all-European process. One of the chief lessons in this context is the principle that any

attempts, plans, and aspirations to undermine the foundations of the German workers and peasants state run counter to the interests of security and understanding in Europe.

BTA Warsaw Correspondent on Polish Government

AU2009144889 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 38, 18 Sep 89 p 6

[Article by Veselin Yankov, BTA correspondent in Warsaw: "Time of Worries, Time of Hope"]

[Text] I do not know whether it is because Polish people would like to get rid of their recent feeling of hopelessness, or because they finally understood the urgent necessity of building up a new Poland with common efforts, but it is a fact that whenever the new government is mentioned the attribute "for the first time" should be repeated three times in the following order: It is the first time in the country's postwar history that the government leader is not a member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. It is the first time that Parliament has approved the cabinet list without a single vote against; and it is the first time that the average age of the cabinet members is 51.

Poland is courageously proceeding along the path of political, economic, and trade union pluralism and the new government has the task of proving the opportunities of pluralism. This will not be an easy task—the majority of people do not believe in reforms, there is no enthusiasm in everyday life, and everyone declares that he is sick and tired of promises. In this situation the 62-year-old Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who is known for his dislike of dilettantism in politics, has the chance to show what he and his team are capable of. In establishing a government based on a broad coalition, he actually adopted the stand of the PZPR that none of the existing main political forces in the country today—neither the PZPR, nor Solidarity—are capable of rescuing the country from the crisis, and even less can they do this in opposition to each other. It is evident that only a partner-like cooperation between the two forces, freed of their mutual distrust, can become a qualitatively new fact in Poland's history. The PZPR supported Mazowiecki and occupies solid positions in the government, as corresponds to its political and state potential. The party has assumed the leadership of the ministries of defense, internal affairs, foreign economic cooperation, and transportation.

The changes in the structures of the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defense will continue. Czeslaw Kiszczak declared himself in favor of de-ideologization of the militia forces and of increasing their educational role, in favor of closing down certain departments which he says are already anachronisms—such as those responsible for bugging apartments and telephones, secret observation, and photographing people. Part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs buildings will be transformed into nursery schools and kindergartens. The reduction of military personnel will continue and 22,000 people will be discharged from the army. As a result of this the state budget will be relieved of $100 billion in expenditures.

As he promised on his election to the post of Council of Ministers chairman, Tadeusz Mazowiecki selected specialists for his cabinet members. In his opinion the task of the government is not to assume the leadership of society, but to create conditions for the development of the people's independent actions and initiatives. The star of the new cabinet is the 42-year old Leszek Balcerowicz, a member of Solidarity, who was the author of a an economic reform draft project in 1981. "I think that I know what should be done, if I have the support of the public," he declared optimistically. Balcerowicz supports the idea of introducing the market mechanism in the economy, of setting up stock exchanges, of improving taxation policy, and banking, and of restricting the printing of banknotes that are not covered. In this respect he has the support of Wladislaw Baka, the governor of the Polish National Bank, a PZPR member, who is a well-known economist and reformer. One of the projects for economic stabilization envisages converting gold into convertible currency in close cooperation with the International Monetary Fund. According to specialists in the Polish Government a model of economic reform, similar to that existing in Switzerland should be adopted—namely a capitalist approach to production and a socialist approach related to distribution.

The legal reform in the country will be implemented under the leadership of Aleksander Bentkowski, member of the United Peasant Party [ZSL]—the first minister of justice in postwar Poland who is a professional lawyer. He is in favor of guaranteeing the independence of the law courts and proposes that members of the Supreme Court should be elected by the Sejm and that the abolition of the death sentence should be introduced as an experiment for a period of 5 years.

Foreign policy will be entrusted to Krzysztof Skubiszewski, professor of international law at Poznan University, and German language scholar. He is in favor of an independent foreign policy and of widely opening up Poland to Europe and the world, in favor of sovereign relations with the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact membership. One of his main tasks will be to improve relations with the FRG.

Poland is making its first steps along the path of compromise. We can assume that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's team will devote all its efforts in order to avoid a fourth attribute from being added to the three mentioned above—namely—together for the first time, but again no special results.

I do not know why, but I cannot get rid of the feeliong that we, outsiders, seem to be more concerned for Poland's future than those directly involved. I think it is because I cannot forget the 40 percent of the voters who

did not vote on 4 June 1989. Perhaps this skeptical attitude is also supported by the fact that some of my Polish friends immediately turn off the television set when they come home because someone on the screen is again proposing some unheard of project. I hope I am wrong. It is a positive fact, however, that Mazowiecki seems to be aware of this when he said: "We need action in order to believe that even in Poland the situation can improve."

Israel's Development of Missile Viewed

AU2009122889 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 15 Sep 89 p 3

[Ivan Peev Article: "Attention: Medium-Range Missiles..!"]

[Text] The USSR-U.S. INF Treaty has been successfully implemented for more than 12 calendar months, and the Geneva talks on reducing the USSR and U.S. strategic "triads" have been resumed. However, certain alarming phenomena remained behind the euphoria which accompanied the signing and the beginning of the implementation of this historic document, which was the result of human wisdom and the new political thinking. After years, precisely those phenomena could block the favorable tendencies in the sphere of nuclear disarmament.

There have been frequent reports by various sources on the proliferation of missiles and strategic weapons. A medium-range ballistic missile, completely produced in the Republic of South Africa [RSA] and capable of delivering a nuclear warhead, was successfully launched on 11 July at the Owenberg testing grounds, near Capetown. An official announcement published in Pretoria described the test as a "great step forward," and did not mention that the missile in question is a modification of the Israeli "Jericho-2" missile.

This fact leads us to another "partner in the deal"—Tel Aviv. Last autumn, after Israel successfully launched two earth satellites—"Ofek-1" and "Ofek-2," it became clear that a new factor of insecurity has been introduced to the Middle Eastern military-political gambit. This so because the "Jericho-2" missile can deliver a nuclear warhead to the distance of 1,440 km. This means that all "frontline countries" of the RSA and Israel are within reach of this missile. The dangerous development of events does not stop here. According to data published by the U.S. CIA in July 1989, the launching of a new "Shavit" missile with a range of 3,200 miles is in a preliminary phase. William Webster, CIA director, recently said that the proliferation of missile production technologies represents "new threats for regional stability and U.S. interests.... We also are concerned by the overt sale of missile systems by certain countries."

Observers correctly assessed those words as a thinly disguised reproach, directed at Tel Aviv, Pretoria, and certain FRG companies, which have sold missile components to the RSA, Argentina, and certain Arab countries. (The missile strikes exchanged between Iran and Iraq during their war are a proof of this.)

This problem of cooperation between racists and Zionists has a long history. In 1987 Tel Aviv and Pretoria signed an agreement on the joint development and testing of various kinds of missiles. Because of its small territory Israel is using testing grounds in the RSA. Until now only "Jericho-1" (with a range of 800 km) has been fired from Israeli territory in the direction of the Mediterranean. According to the British paper THE GUARDIAN, "If intelligence data indicating that the range of the 'Comet' [shavit is comet in Hebrew] will be 3,200 miles, and after likely technical improvements—up to 4,000 miles—then in principle, Leningrad and Moscow will be within the range of its possibilities."

Against the background of this development it is only logical that Israel's Arab neighbors would not stay idle. U.S. experts have already classified "Shavit" as an "international ballistic missile."

On 10 February it was announced in Islamabad that Pakistan had conducted a successful test with a ballistic missile, designed and produced in Pakistan. Speaking to foreign correspondents Mirza Aslam Beg, commander in chief of the General Staff, stated that the country's industry is already capable of producing "an extraordinarily accurate missile, which can deliver a 500 kg warhead, which can strike targets within a range of 300 km." According to the general, new developments in this area are imminent.

While the CIA's concern about the migration of missile weapons and systems is indeed understandable, a correction is necessary, because Webster's reproach needs to be explained. No other country embraced the idea of participating in developing separate components of former President Reagan's "Star Wars" program with such enthusiasm as Israel. In 1988 alone the contracts surpassed $165 million, three-quarters of which will be utilized for the development in Israel of a new system for intercepting "Arrow" medium-range missiles. In March 1989 the organization in charge of implementing the Strategic Defense Initiative signed a contract with Tel Aviv on creating a computer center for simulating a new system of anti-missile defense under conditions of the Middle Eastern potential combat field. As far as the satellites of the "Ofek" type are concerned, they serve military intelligence purposes, and will direct the Israeli "Khets" and "Barak-1" missiles toward strategic targets in the entire Arab world.

A commentary in the Soviet daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA pointed out: "Certain Arab countries, led by Egypt, are already advancing toward developing joint measures related to opposing this superiority in space. The financing of the Egyptian project on launching an Arab satellite will be undertaken by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia." Pakistan and Turkey expressed readiness to maintain the "strategic balance" in the region. For this purpose Turkey will supply the Arab countries with 40 F-16 aircraft produced by it.

So long as the potential hotbeds of tension exist (the Middle East knot, and tension in relations between India and Pakistan and between the RSA and the "frontline countries"), it is not very likely that the missile arms race in those neuralgic zones will be tamed. Like the affair with the FRG companies, about whose deals the FRG Government knew nothing (?!), the commercial interests of the concerns that compete in the realm of advanced technologies are, in principle, placed above the interests of regional and global security. There also are ambitious leaders in many countries who adhere to the thesis that they must at all costs be "one step ahead of the potential enemy." Against the background of the existing lack of confidence vis-a-vis one's neighbor (to put it mildly), such logic is dangerous. The migration of missiles and nuclear weapons would not be possible without the tolerant attitude of the leading states, because a country like Pakistan, for example, has extremely limited technical and financial resources, which prevent it from implementing such ambitious plans alone.

The circle is being closed in a dangerous fashion. One day the best achievements in the area of disarmament, the first tender shoots of which were greeted by the world's peace-loving public, could be jeopardized.

Muslim Workers Not Accepted in Former Jobs

AU2109092189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Nikolay Zhelev, Varna Oblast correspondent: "As the Laws and Personal Conscience Require"]

[Excerpts] The labor collective has decided that colleagues who have left of their own free will should not return to their former workplaces. Proof is needed that they are really aware of their mistakes and guilt. [passage omitted]

The brigade councils of the Fourth and Fifth Brigade of the city motor vehicle enterprise in Varna held a meeting. It dealt with petitions for the abolition of disciplinary punishments imposed on colleagues who, under the pretext of going to Turkey, voluntarily abandoned their jobs over the whole summer.

Severin Radulov was the first to appear. He was immediately attacked with questions: Why did he leave? How was he received over there? What kind of work was he offered, and why did he return? If they open the border, would he again rush to Kapitan Andreevo?

Severin Radulov was embarrassed in answering: I went away because I believed all those tales. From Western radio stations, which I listened to daily, I understood that at least every second man in Turkey is a millionaire. [passage omitted]

I went because I believed in the propaganda that everything is fine over there. I believed Ozal when he said that 1 million Bulgarian Muslims would be housed and taken care of. However, I became convinced that you cannot beat any sense into Ozal, or into any other Turkish minister.

Never again will I think of going to Turkey.

Severin was interrupted several times with questions. Finally, his colleagues unanimously decided that his disciplinary dismissal should remain in force, because he had left of his own free will and because the reason for his return was simply that he could not settle into a good life in Turkey. Let him go somewhere else, there are enough jobs.

Then, it was the turn of Angel Ivanov. [passage omitted] The decision was unanimous again. Angel cannot remain in his job as a driver among those whose confidence he has abused. [passage omitted]

Will these decisions of the brigade councils remain in force? This was also a question of concern for the councils. They adopted categorical decisions not to take back their colleagues because they had committed arbitrary acts and offenses against all legal premises.

This was the verdict of the collective. It is based on the law and on personal conscience. The collective is convinced that the verdict is justified. Is it so?

Shortcomings in Harvesting Surveyed

AU2109100789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Sep 89 p 2

[Stoyanka Radeva article: "Mere Guarantees Are Not Enough"]

[Text] The guarantees mentioned in the headline are the guarantees that everything that the land has produced will be harvested without any losses and most efficiently utilized. Furthermore, the agricultural produce must by all means be safely stored. This is because there have been numerous cases when wonderful produce, transferred from the fields to the storehouse, has been spoiled as a result of bad conditions and inappropriate storage.

It has already been said that the yield, especially of certain specific crops, is very good. However, it has also been repeatedly said that not everything is in good order as concerns harvesting and utilizing the produce. Again, for the who-knows-what time, we are witnessing the practice that has produced the saying: "It is easier to grow something than to harvest it!" We could expand the saying by adding that it is even more difficult to purchase and store the produce.

After so many well-deserved reproaches, we finally have potatoes. Plenty of them. However, in Sofia and Plovdiv Oblasts purchasing is being delayed due to the lack of sufficient means of transportation and storage. This, on the other hand, compels the producers to delay harvesting the potatoes. Time is short, and soon the rain and snow will come....

Let us consider tomatoes. The red stream is plentiful, but it is being blocked by the wall of insufficient processing capacities, or the heartless bureaucratic attitude on the part of the purchasing organizations. Yesterday, at the operational meeting at the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, it was pointed out that 1,200 tonnes of tomatoes are being harvested daily in the region of the former Varna Okrug. Only 250 tonnes can be processed. The rest are not being purchased. This is not an isolated case. A joint inspection conducted by the organs of the Committee on State and People's Control, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the "National Agro-Industrial Union" Association, has revealed that a similar situation exists in all oblasts, and that the situation is especially grave in Burgas, Mikhaylovgrad, and Razgrad Oblasts.

The purchase of onion and garlic has been delayed too much. One asks oneself where are the purchasing organizations? Where is the competition in purchasing, about which one spoke so often in the past?

Apathy—this is how we could define the situation with tobacco harvesting. There is lots of tobacco, especially after the recent rain; however, it is not being harvested at all, and is even being destroyed by plowing the crops. According to preliminary calculations, about 10 million strings of tobacco could be harvested. Shall we lightheartedly relinquish this produce and the profits it could bring? Perhaps precisely in this case there is a place for more flexibility on the part of "Bulgartabak" in anything related to stimulating harvesting? Furthermore, instead of destroying the produce, why do the agricultural organizations not allow everyone interested in harvesting tobacco to harvest (as much as they want and can), and then sell the harvested and processed produce?

These and other alarming facts, alien to common sense and economic calculations, prompt us to say that mere guarantees that everything produced by the land will be harvested and utilized are not enough. What about sunflower? Much sunflower, wonderful sunflower has been produced! However, its harvesting in Varna, Khaskovo, and Mikhaylovgrad Oblasts is being delayed, and its purchasing is progressing at a very slow pace, something which represents a rude and inappropriate attitude toward human labor. The storage platforms are full, thousands of tonnes of grain are spoiled by rain and humidity. Will the "Cereals and Fodder Industry" State Trust continue to remain almost indifferent toward the real danger that the painful cases of the past, such as those when sunflowers germinated in the platforms and in the sunflower heads, will repeat themselves? There are so many available schools and other buildings throughout the country that still could be tracked down and utilized for this purpose. One must simply act!

Physician's 'Unlawful Overflight' to FRG Viewed

LD2009193289 Prague CTK in English 1802 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Physician Dr. Jaroslav Naxera, 39, from Domazlice, West Bohemia, flew illegally across the Czechoslovak border to West Germany in a glider on September 18, 1989. According to the DPA news agency he declared himself politically persecuted allegedly because of his participation in a demonstration in Prague on September 17, 1989, and asked for political asylum.

This statement is in deep contradiction with reality, Czechoslovak Interior Ministry spokesman Major Jiri Belohlavek told CTK today. Dr Naxera did not take part in any demonstration in Prague, and simply could not, as no demonstration took place in Czechoslovakia on that day. But it was found out that his wife, Dr Bozena Naxerova, 39, and his daughter Kamila have been living in emigration in the FRG since August 14, 1987. Investigators also proved that Dr Naxera prepared the unlawful overflight across the Czechoslovak border beforehand.

FRG Citizen Violates Air Space 19 Sep

LD2009180989 Prague CTK in English 1708 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—A West German sports plane piloted by FRG citizen Oscar Stumbeck violated Czechoslovak air space on September 19, 1989, due to loss of orientation. It landed on a field near Zlutice village in Karlovy Vary district, West Bohemia.

The pilot thought he was still on West German territory, investigators from the Plzen national security corps announced, adding that no intentional violation of international flights' regulations was proved and the pilot was extradited to West German authorities.

Denmark's Schluter Receives Marko-Led Delegation

AU1809164589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Sep 89 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] A delegation of the CSSR Federal Assembly led by Jan Marko, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, which is paying a visit to Denmark, visited the parliament building in Copenhagen on Tuesday [12 September]. The same day the delegation was received by the Danish Prime Minister, Poul Schluter.

Amount of Forints Sold to Tourists Increases

AU2009111789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Concerning the Purchase of Forints"]

[Text] Prague—The Federal Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank have announced that, effective immediately and until further notice, the allowance sold to participants in tours organized by Czechoslovak travel agencies to the Hungarian People's Republic is being increased.

Forints will be sold at a maximum of Kcs500 per person per day, however, the maximum per person per visit will be Kcs3,500 worth of forints.

On transit routes across Hungary it is possible to buy forints for a maximum of Kcs500 per person per journey in both directions.

Bulgarian Envoy Praises Prague on Refugee Stance

AU2009070989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Sep 89 p 2

[Vit Suchy report: "Concerning Bulgarian-Turkish Relations; News Conference At the Bulgarian Embassy"]

[Text] Prague—Current relations between Bulgaria and Turkey constituted the main topic of yesterday's news conference in Prague at which Toncho Chakarov, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the CSSR, made a speech.

In his speech, he stated that his country has again recently become the target of unscrupulous attacks made by the mass information and propaganda media of capitalist states, first and foremost, however, by neighboring Turkey, especially in connection with the mass exodus of Islamic Bulgarians to this neighboring country.

He mentioned the many traits and striking similarity between the current propaganda campaign and that which was waged several years ago in connection with the so-called Antonov case. Then, as now, the mass media, particularly in the North Atlantic pact states, strived to discredit Bulgaria in the eyes of the international community.

The head of the Bulgarian diplomatic mission in Prague then pointed out that his country, in harmony with the adopted Final Document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, has changed its passport regulations. Bulgarian citizens may travel abroad, they may remain abroad temporarily, or they may settle there permanently and then, according to their own wishes, return to their homeland. These regulations correspond to the present-day international standards of human rights.

Turkish propaganda has used this fact in particular—as Ambassador Chakarov stressed—in order to whip up a mass psychosis about leaving their homeland among the descendants of Islamic Bulgarians. The result of this is that, up until now, 307,000 people have left Bulgaria and around 50,000 have submitted a request to leave. Many want to stay in Turkey and others only want to see what kind of conditions prevail in that neighboring country. Of these people, around 15,000 have returned to Bulgaria. The stream of those returning is continuing and,

according to official Sofia estimates, the number reaches approximately 1,000 people every day.

However, in the meantime Turkey has closed its border and is causing various problems for Bulgarian citizens only so that it can hinder their return to their homes. This is also the reason for the serious breach in mutual—mainly political—relations between both countries.

According to the Bulgarian ambassador, official authorities in his country are still willing to consider the existing bilateral problems in the spirit of the valid Bulgarian-Turkish protocol, which in Sofia is considered to be a solid basis for an equal and useful dialogue.

During the course of the news conference, Toncho Chakarov praised the stance adopted by our republic toward this problem, a stance which was also expressed on Wednesday [13 September] by a representative of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

$20 Million Contract With Egypt Concluded

AU1909143689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 89 p 2

["jk"-signed report: "Pumps for Heat Conduits; From the Brno Engineering Fair"]

[Excerpt] Brno (from our correspondent)—Products of enterprises of the Sigma concern are being exported to 90 countries, through the medium of the Intersigma foreign trade enterprise. Of late, Sigma's largest customers include Egypt, with which Intersigma recently signed a major agreement, valued at almost $20 million, on the supply of 16 water treatment plants. The fact is important that the Sigma concern won this contract in keen competition with companies with worldwide reputations. [passage omitted]

Vietnamese Party Delegation Visits Slovakia

AU2009100189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Visit to the Slovak Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Bratislava—A study delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee led by Do Chinh, member of the CPV Central Committee and head of its economic department, which is in Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, was received by Pavel Bolvansky, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, in Bratislava yesterday. During its 3-day visit to Slovakia, the delegation will study the Slovak Socialist Republic's proportion of the whole united Czechoslovak economy and the further possibilities of Slovakia's participation in the expansion of economic cooperation between the CSSR and the SRV. The delegation also takes an interest in the experiences acquired by manufacturing organizations in the Slovak Socialist Republic from the application of the laws on state enterprises and cooperatives.

Pavelka on Foreign Exchange Market

AU2009112689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 89 pp 1,2

[Interview with Frantisek Pavelka, CSSR deputy minister of finance, by Zdenek Hoffmann and Pavel Paral: "Using Foreign Exchange Economically;" place and date of interview not given; opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpts] The first foreign exchange auction, held on 30 August, drew considerable public attention—because in this way enterprises can obtain freely convertible currencies for our non-convertible currency, but mainly because of the high trading prices, caused by the extremely high demand.

In view of readers' interest, we have asked Docent Engineer Frantisek Pavelka, candidate of sciences, CSSR deputy minister of finance, for an explanation of the significance of the limited foreign exchange market.

[Hoffmann, Paral] We are reckoning on the koruna's future transition toward free convertibility. What changes in the foreign exchange economy must precede this step?

[Pavelka] It will be necessary to introduce different forms of distributing foreign exchange from those existing at present. One of these forms is the so-called foreign exchange market, where foreign exchange is distributed according to other criteria than just the plan—according to the criterion of efficiency, for example, according to the advantageousness of the purchase for enterprises, and so forth. This is not an easy task, however. The general use of the market as a medium for distributing and allocating foreign exchange funds is not feasible at present.

[Hoffmann, Paral] What prevents it?

[Pavelka] In particular, the relative shortage of foreign exchange. Another problem is that even after the restructuring of [wholesale] prices, we still lack sufficiently objective criteria, according to which enterprises could decide whether to invest korunas within the economy and in what, or whether to use them to purchase foreign exchange funds and, consequently, to import goods or technology from abroad. [passage omitted] There is also no guarantee that our enterprises will behave in a completely rational manner, with due regard for long-term considerations. [passage omitted]

[Hoffmann, Paral] What is your view of foreign exchange auctions?

[Pavelka] An auction is, in fact, only one possible form of the operation of a foreign exchange market, a form, moreover, in which many speculative and fortuitous

elements are hidden. In the case of genuine currency convertibility, the crucial part of purchases and sales is effected in a different form, through the medium of the relationship between the enterprise and the bank. The auction-type foreign exchange market, on the other hand, is organized as a market between enterprises, even though the bank acts as the mediator.

For this reason, foreign exchange auctions will be a rather marginal affair, apparently also in the future. At the first auction the amount of foreign exchange on offer represented only a few tenths of one per mille of overall foreign trade turnover. However, if we want to gradually establish prerequisites for the introduction of the convertibility of the currency with all its attributes—that is, including the existence of a foreign exchange market where the koruna is traded at market rates for foreign currencies and vice versa—then we must try out also this system. [passage omitted]

[Hoffmann, Paral] A number of socialist countries introduced a limited foreign exchange market before us. How do you assess foreign experience?

[Pavelka] We have some experience from Bulgaria, for example, which has been experimenting with a limited foreign exchange market for over a year. The rates there range roughly between 8 and 15 times the official rate of exchange. But even in Bulgaria auctions are still a marginal phenomenon.

[Hoffmann, Paral] Why do you believe that it will not be possible to use the limited foreign exchange market that is just starting to operate to help make the koruna convertible?

[Pavelka] According to the experiences of other countries, foreign exchange auctions contributed to the "dollarization" [dolarizace] of the economy, rather than to the creation of conditions for the convertibility of the currency. This is the case of, above all, Poland, which has so far gone farthest toward a foreign exchange market. All enterprises and even private persons can participate in this market there.

[Hoffmann, Paral] What do you understand under the term dollarization?

[Pavelka] The domestic currency is beginning to disappear from the internal market and is coming to be replaced by the dollar or the Deutsche mark. Enterprises lose interest in the koruna and freely convertible currencies push their way into the commercial ties between them. These efforts started to become manifest in our economy even before the auction. I am thinking of the endeavor of some enterprises to obtain the right to sell goods directly for freely convertible currencies on the territory of our state, of sales to citizens and enterprises for freely convertible currencies, and the like. However, this path does not lead to convertibility, but to the postponement thereof.

[Hoffmann, Paral] The banks could significantly influence the high prices of foreign exchange if they participated with their own resources in the foreign exchange auctions. Is this possibility being considered?

[Pavelka] Apparently this will be necessary, precisely because of the need for regulation. Nowhere in the world is the rate of exchange determined only by the relationship between supply and demand. The increased danger of various speculations is looming in this area. Speculative movements on foreign exchange markets can rock the exchange rates and shake the foreign exchange economies of even such great powers as the United States, Japan, and the FRG. Everywhere, it is therefore necessary that the central banks intervene in these markets and that state bodies set the terms and limit the possibilities for speculation. [passage omitted] We are now evaluating the rules of the auction and it is apparent that it will be necessary to amend and further improve them.

[Hoffmann, Paral] If foreign exchange is traded at overvalued prices, there is also the danger that enterprises will translate these prices into their costs and, by the same token, into the prices of their products. How do you want to prevent this?

[Pavelka] For the time being, mainly by means of the financial system, including taxation. An enterprise obtaining resources from a foreign exchange auction will have to include them among its so-called extraordinary proceeds, which will be treated as part of its profits and will be subject to normal taxation. If we see that the sale is expressly a speculative one, the laws provide for the possibility of regulatory levies or other regulatory sanctions. Enterprises purchasing foreign exchange at auctions must not defray these purchases from their costs, but draw these resources from the earnings which they retain after the taxation of their profits and after the allocation of resources to their assorted funds. An enterprise can include the expenses connected with the purchase of foreign exchange only among those costs which do not enter into the calculation of prices.

[Hoffmann, Paral] Did the trading price of foreign exchange at the auction—which reached seven times the official rate of exchange—surprise you?

[Pavelka] I must admit that it did, although many things could be expected to happen. However, one should not draw any rash conclusions from this. There were too many chance elements at play, as well as the coming together of extreme situations. We do not expect such a high price to stay. On the basis of the average span of our internal and foreign prices and the preponderance of demand over supply, we estimate that future prices at foreign exchange auctions should be about four times the official exchange rate. [passage omitted]

New Nuclear Plant Design Developed

AU1909134889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Sep 89 p 2

["pp"-signed report: "New Design of a Power Plant Unit"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—Under the law on the range of activities of central agencies, passed late last year, the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission (CSKAE) became a federal body of state administration subordinated directly to the CSSR Government. The commission's status has thus been significantly raised. Apart from tasks in the development of nuclear technology and the use of nuclear materials for peaceful purposes, the commission safeguards CSSR commitments concerning nuclear safety and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

An integral part of the CSKAE's activity is international cooperation, particularly with socialist states. Its attention is concentrated primarily on the fulfillment of tasks within the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Development Through the Year 2000 and, more specifically, on its third priority direction—the accelerated development of nuclear power engineering. In view of the fact that the present model of the nuclear power station being built at Temelin trails behind the world level, especially from the economic viewpoint, the development of a nuclear power generating unit of a new generation was included in the comprehensive program last year, on Czechoslovakia's initiative. The unit's technical specifications are being worked on at present. Addressing a news conference in Prague on Friday [15 September], CSKAE Chairman Stanislav Havel also spoke about cooperation with the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency and its member countries. He said, for example, that an agreement is being prepared with the FRG on the regulation of questions of common interest involving nuclear safety. A similar agreement with Austria was concluded several years ago.

Changes in Journalists' Role Deemed 'Better'

LD1709123189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Commentary by Dr Jan Risko, chairman of the Czechoslovak Journalists Union; from the "Living Words" program]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The enormous changes under way in Czechoslovak political and public life have qualitatively altered the nature of our journalism. It has changed unrecogonizably for the better, and sometimes, looking back only 3 or 4 years ago, this change seems unreal. Today, however, our work as journalists is not any easier than it used to be. Democratization and public information have not made the journalist's life any easier: on the contrary, they have added to the difficulties, because these processes imply a great variety, a greater plurality of views. The unanimity of time past, even if it was only ever a matter of form, is over and done with, but that's life.

Democratization, glasnost, and public information is untying the tongues and unfettering the pens of journalists too, but that is just what we are calling for, what we want. Restructuring prompts a multiplicity of views and ideas, a variety of different attitudes and approaches, and the presentation of alternative views. Journalists cannot fulfil their role if they do not take account of the variety of views and moods which genuinely exist in society, and this is why their responsibility to society has grown immeasurably.

In this process, we also come across non-standard situations to which we have been unaccustomed in the past, because restructuring and democratization have not only led to increased political activity by the people, but they also brought in their wake a fragmentation of ideas and views, and prompted activity by various groups operating outside the orbit of socialism, and frequently against socialism. The voices of anti- socialist radicals and anti-communist extremists can be heard in public. Attempts are also made to organize this on an international scale.

We must enter into a political struggle. However, over the many years of our society's development, we have fallen out of the habit of the political and ideological struggle, and in fact the new generation of journalists has never been involved in this struggle. It has been, in a way, mollycoddled and spoon-fed, and as a result, in the face of various hostile ideological and political manifestations, both on the surface and under it, we have often acted nonchalantly, as if we either did not notice them, or deliberately ignored them. This indifference and laxity of ours, however, is just what the opposition is counting on, and they also try to exploit it as they see fit.

The reason that we are promoting glasnost, public information and democratization, though, is to strengthen socialism, not to undermine or weaken it. In restructuring, the destructive forces in our society—the various political adventurists and upstarts, frustrated or broken careerists yearning for another bite at the cherry—are obviously seeking a new opening for their ambitions. The dilemmas and problems of our life and economic development are their stock in trade. It serves their interests if these are not tackled in a calm and peaceful atmosphere. They need to drum up agitation and unrest in their midst, and sharpen and intensify the social climate. Journalists cannot pretend to be oblivious when passions run high and views start to clash around us. They must know how to find their bearings in the complexities and twists of today's world, be able to reveal not only the superficial, but also the latent, the ulterior motives, as they say, what lies below the surface, what is not immediately obvious, but is nonetheless the ultimate objective. On the other hand, they also need to show the kind of professional maturity and political skill and mastery to enable them to bring to light in good time

the problems brewing in society, draw attention to them, call for them to be resolved and also suggest ways of tackling them—ways which, needless to say, should be positive and constructive. This kind of journalism will not lag behind the rapidly-changing world, but will always set the pace for social change.

The period we are currently living through—one of simultaneous crisis in a number of neighboring socialist countries—is not an easy one for our society, and even less so for the world of journalism. We are experiencing a period in which contradiction, paradox, and blurred attitudes abound, a period when bold but untested experiments arouse concern and apprehension. These are caused by a number of new phenomena and problems which have recently surfaced in the development of socialist countries. A number of us are beginning to doubt whether our socialist world is treading the right path, whether the restructuring process and all its ramifications are eating away at the foundations of our socialist system. We are concerned at the fact that a section of the media in certain socialist countries is breaking free of the influence of society and trying to set itself up as some kind of absolutely independent political force—this shows how deformed and specious some journalists' and media workers' grasp of glasnost and public information is.

Czechoslovak journalists cannot fail to take into account this experience of socialist countries abroad. Readers and listeners will not have failed to appreciate one fact which, of late, cannot have escaped anyone's attention, and that is a creeping tide of nihilism in attitudes to socialism, a certain crumbling of the bedrock of faith in socialism, its potential and historical perspective. This is due in no small part to the media in certain socialist countries, some of which have thrown themselves headlong into criticism of the past, into disparaging, belittling, and even denigrating the achievements of past generations and of everything they held dear and took pride in. People find it hard to accept when their ideals are taken away from them, when an atmosphere of disillusion is generated and propagated. A section of the Soviet media, which has always set us a great example, has also fallen pray to this, despite Mikhail Gorbachev's words in 1987 that not a single day of our history of building socialism has been in vain.

Despite all these remarks addressed to my fellow journalists, there is no doubt that journalism and the media set the pace for the political and intellectual current of the times. They have become the propagators and champions of new thinking, the mouthpiece for the ideas of restructuring, democratization, and public information, and the work of the media has frequently been granted public recognition. It is, indeed, the principle of public information which has had such a fundamental impact on our work and taken it to new and greater heights. At the same time, however, journalists should bear in mind that as the broader strata become more widely involved in transforming in the political, economic, and social sphere, we find a broad range of views, attitudes, demands, and ideas about the process of restructuring and democratization, and from this point of view it is increasingly important for the media not only to mirror reality and provide a platform for public opinion, but also to influence that opinion, help to shape it, and find the right answers to the complex issues of the day, so as to activate the people into involvement in public life while fulfilling the tasks of socioeconomic development, and to strengthen people's convictions that we will, indeed, solve the problems.

Husak Presents Awards to Journalists 15 Sep

LD1509210289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] President of the Republic Gustav Husak presented this year's Czechoslovak journalism prizes in Prague Castle today to mark Press, Radio and TV Day [21 September]. These awards were presented for their many years of significant politically committed journalistic activity to Karel Horak, chief editor of the weekly TRIBUNA, to Antonin Kostka, editor and commentator at Prague radio, and to Izabela Pazitkova, editor and commentator at Czechoslovak television in Bratislava.

Comrade Gustav Husak cordially congratulated the award winners. He spoke highly of the work of journalists in enhancing public information about the basic questions of our internal and foreign policy, and praised their active support for the policy of the CPCZ, the National Front, and the socialist state. He expressed the conviction that journalists will work creatively to contribute to the further building of socialism. Comrade Jan Fojtik, Jozef Lenart, and other officials were also present at the ceremony and the informal meeting with the award winners.

Yeltsin Reunification, USSR Remarks Criticized

AU2109081289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "Mr Yeltsin Is Barking Up the Wrong Tree"]

[Text] There is the saying that if someone goes on a trip he will have something to say—meaning interesting news that the traveler brings home from afar. Concerning Boris Yeltsin from Moscow, who has returned from a visit to the United States, the matter is totally different. He already said everything he was thinking when he was in America—when he looked at the homeless and the Statue of Liberty, which he greeted with applause. The DPA reporter, who observed him, remarked mockingly: "Boris Yeltsin is just to the taste of many Americans: officious, loud, and with a high tolerance for alcohol. What is more, he has been to the United States for hardly an hour and he already poses as the unreserved admirer of capitalism and continuously presents his hosts with niceties."

Well, this is a matter of viewpoint and of ethics, which Yeltsin has to sort out with his conscience, and, regarding his statements about the Soviet Union, with his compatriots. However, when the wild, "officious Russian," who is "a scoop" for the U.S. media (still DPA), thinks that he has to repay the invitation to God's own country by participating in the slander campaign by these media against the GDR, we reject this totally. Mr Yeltsin is barking up the wrong tree: What is right and legal in our country is determined by the elected representatives of the people of the GDR. This is not "regulated" by other states, as he thinks. And when he comes out in favor of a "reunification of Germany," he only proves that he does not understand the nature of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People against fascist German imperialism and the entire historical development since then.

But this is probably not to be expected of a person who runs from door to door in Washington and begs for financial aid; of a man who once wanted to be considered a communist and now says that his impressions of capitalism, which had been hammered into him at home, have changed 180 degrees; who has only critical words for his homeland and continuously confirms to the Americans that the United States is better than the Soviet Union; who is looking for experiences made in the United States to apply to a new model of socialism and wants to learn there how the deputies in the USSR Supreme Soviet have to work; who, even in view of the homeless who demonstrate for decent homes in front of the United Nations, does not have to say anything else than that welfare houses at the East River, which are ripe for demolition, are comfortable compared with apartment houses in Moscow; and who considers U.S. society very healthy. What should one expect of a "communist" who, despite the great efforts of his people for socialist restructuring in his fatherland, calls communism a dream that should be left in the clouds?

One would like to hope that the followers Mr Yeltsin has had at home so far will be extensively informed about his appearances in the United States. They will come down with a bump.

FRG Uses SS Files To Prove Ethnic Origin

AU2109082089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Document Center Confirms: FRG Uses SS Files To Decide on Resettlers"]

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—SS files stored in the Berlin (West) Document Center are serving the FRG authorities as proof of the ethnic German origin of Polish resettlers. This fact, which was revealed at the historians' congress in Pforzheim last week, was confirmed by the Document Center on Monday [18 September]. Berlin (West) receives 4,000 inquiries in this connection every month, a spokesman said.

The files were compiled in 1939 by the SS for the purpose of deciding which Poles could be "Germanized" under the German occupation. "Expert opinions" were collected, which were recorded on file cards by the so-called qualification examiners. The spokesman said that now, for instance, if a file on the grandfather is found, the grandson can be recognized as an ethnic German resettler.

Use of SS Files Criticized

AU2109101889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "Where the SS Stopped...."]

[Text] Those who believed the attempts at appeasement—that neo-Nazism in the FRG is only a temporary, marginal phenomenon have now officially learned better. The Document Center in Berlin (West), an authority that is subject to the U.S. State Department, has officially confirmed that the FRG is using SS criteria to find out who is a German.

After all, the Bonn Government needs to know exactly who is a German because it claims the duty to care for all Germans—no matter where they live in the world. And because at present—regardless of the unchanging high level of unemployment and the increasing lack of housing—it is making great efforts to bring ethnic Germans from other countries to the FRG. People, whose families have mostly lived in what today are socialist countries for many generations, are lured away from their homelands under false pretenses, are pulled out of their usual lives, and are turned over to the capitalist wolf's law. The whole thing is then presented as the implementation of human rights. Even among the FRG's allies doubt is increasing about how, in view of the obvious inability to provide all these so-called resettlers with housing, work, and bread, such a policy can be passed off as a policy in the interest of the people.

In this context, the use of SS files by FRG authorities is just the icing on the cake. This implements the claim that the FRG is not the successor state of the German Reich that perished in 1945, but represents this Reich itself in a truly consistent way. In practice, the FRG officials are continuing where the SS people stopped. Their meticulous files provide information about who in the East European states, which they had occupied, deserves to be recognized as a German because of his "Nazi attitude" and his "Arian origin." Descendants of German antifascists or "half-breeds" (according to the criteria of the Nuremberg Laws, which were worked out by Adenauer's State Secretary Globke) do not have a "chance" in this respect. In fact, they would not deserve the fate to live in such a state.

It is appropriate to recall that not too long ago an enormous number of files were stolen from the Document Center, which is so industriously used by the Bonn authorities. The trial of some officials and profiteers did not reveal anything about who was behind the robbery. However, no one doubts that former high-ranking Nazis, who were seriously incriminated by the documents, were interested in having these incriminating documents disappear. Obviously, the authorities were not interested in such files and, above all, in the legal prosecution of the war criminals.

Schmalkalden, Recklinghausen Twinning Pact

AU2009160189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN report: "City Twinning Agreement Between Schmalkalden and Recklinghausen"]

[Text] Recklinghausen—The council of the Northrhine Westphalian city of Recklinghausen, which has 120,000 inhabitants, on the weekend [16-17 September] proposed the development of normal, good-neighborly relations between the two German states. The city parliament of the Ruhr municipality approved an agreement on city twinning with the Thuringian city of Schmalkalden. The agreement, which will be ratified in Schmalkalden in November, states that both cities will contribute to further enhancing the idea of peace and the political will for detente. In addition, it stresses that both municipalities have always worked against neo-Nazism and militarism, as well as against the evil spirit of racism and the hatred of nations. The agreement states that their twinning is intended to serve peaceful life and is for the people's benefit.

CDU's Goetting Honors Greek Victims of Nazis

AU2009131489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "GDR Honors Greek Victims of Nazi Crimes"]

[Excerpts] Athens (ADN)—By laying a wreath in the Greek mountain village of Kalavrita in the Peloponnisus on Saturday [16 September], Gerald Goetting, president of the League for Friendship Among Peoples, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, honored the victims of the massacre by the fascist German occupation forces on 13 December 1943. As so-called reprisals, members of the 4th SS Tank Division had corralled more than 1,300 male inhabitants of the village on the mountain and shot them to death. [passage omitted]

Previously, on Friday [15 September], the exhibition "40 years of GDR" was opened in the Athens Cultural Center in the presence of Gerald Goetting. [passage omitted]

Meets Prime Minister Tzannetakis

AU2109100489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Greece for Expansion of Relations With GDR"]

[Text] Athens (ADN)—On Monday [18 September] Greek Prime Minister Tzannis Tzannetakis received Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, president of the League for Friendship Among Peoples, and chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, in Athens. The GDR politician conveyed most cordial greetings from Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, which were returned in kind.

Prime Minister Tzannetakis welcomed the fact that the exhibition "40 Years in the GDR" is currently taking place in Athens. It is a good expression of the traditionally positive state of relations between the two countries, in the further development of which Greece is interested. He referred to the concurrence of the two states in basic questions of the safeguarding of peace. Tzannis Tzannetakis paid tribute to the 40 years of successful and stable development of the GDR as a contribution to a European peace system. The situation that developed after World War II, including the borders, is final, he stressed. Now it is necessary to develop European cooperation further and to work on the common European home. The fewer the weapons needed for this, the better it is for the continent.

Earlier, Gerald Goetting met with Parliament President Athanasios Tsaldaris. In the friendly talk, the Greek politician paid tribute to the importance of Erich Honecker's visit to Greece in 1985. The agreements made at that time in, among others, the talks with New Democracy Chairman Konstandinos Mitsotakis, should be continued in mutual interest. With this both states can also make a contribution to European cooperation from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Athanasios Tsaldaris explained his country's basic policy, which is based on noninterference in internal affairs and, proceeding from the common interest in the safeguarding of peace, is aimed on friendly relations with

all countries. The parliament president affirmed that Greece is continuously pursuing a policy of disarmament and is striving for stability at the lowest possible level of armament.

In the evening Gerald Goetting met with Athens Mayor Nikos Yatrakos.

Maneuvers 'Diametrically Opposed' to Talks

AU2109105889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 p 2

["-ng" editorial: "'Autumn Forge' Maneuvers"]

[Text] In Vienna the Warsaw Pact and NATO are holding negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe. The ultimate goal is that both alliance systems will have only armed forces for defense purposes, which are unsuitable for surprise and large-scale attacks. Parallel to these negotiations, negotiations between the 35 CSCE states are held in the same place on confidence- and security-building measures. The issue is to supplement the matters that were agreed on at the Stockholm Conference 3 years ago and have proved their worth since then by new and more far-reaching results.

At the same time, NATO starts its usual annual autumn series of maneuvers called "Autumn Forge." This time, more than 200,000 soldiers, 1,000 tanks, up to 2,000 combat aircraft, and about 400 ships participate in these maneuvers. On a territory that reaches from northern Norway to the eastern borders of Turkey and from Gibraltar to the Elbe River and also includes the waters of the Atlantic, of the North Sea, and the Baltic Sea, about 20 general troop exercises and large-scale maneuvers of the air and naval forces are taking place simultaneously. As PRAVDA recently noted, this year's "Autumn Forge" maneuvers are "hardly" different "from the development of attack patterns for real acts of war near the national borders of the socialist countries."

It is obvious that such activities are diametrically opposed to the concern of the Vienna negotiations in both bodies. They have nothing to do with preparations for defense, do not serve the consolidation of peace and security, and are anything else but conducive to trust. But: They highlight the way in which decisive NATO forces are approaching the military aspects of East-West relations regardless of the current disarmament negotiations—namely, by adhering to a policy of strength; by insisting on the strategy of nuclear deterrence; and—despite unprecedented advance moves in disarmament by the Warsaw Pact states—through the purposeful implementation of the programs for arms buildup both in the nuclear and in the conventional area, which are limited until the mid-1990's.

The "Autumn Forge-89" maneuvers fit seamlessly into this picture, maneuvers at which an attack on socialism is practiced under central leadership and with a unified scenario.

SED, RCP Institutes Strengthen Ties

AU2009135989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN report: "SED, RCP Institutes Intensify Cooperation"]

[Text] Bucharest—The further prospects of cooperation between the Institute for Marxism-Leninism of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and the Institute for Historic and Sociopolitical Studies of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee were discussed in Bucharest by the directors of the two research institutes. Professor Guenther Heyden, member of the SED Central Auditing Commission, and Ion Popescu-Puturi, RCP Central Committee member, agreed on the institutes' further cooperation in solving current theoretical problems of socialism.

Bishop Leich Urges Dialogue as Partners

AU1909204389 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 18 Sep 89 p 6

[From the Report of Bishop Werner Leich, Chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates in the GDR, to the Federal Synod in Eisenach—We Need a Dialogue as Partners]

[Text] The GDR will commemorate its 40th anniversary in 3 weeks. Our state's 40-year history is also a piece of the history of the Evangelical churches in the GDR. Through their work and social commitment, our church members also have a part in diverse ways in the path followed by our state. We must ask ourselves how the 40th anniversary should be commemorated.

Two generations have grown up in 40 years. I belong to the older generation which lived to see the terrible war and million-fold suffering.

The first experience of my generation was our rescue from death and destruction. We drew our expectation of life from this, which was that we had to make a new beginning, remove the ruins, reconstruct the country, and protect life. Those born in 1948 lived in relatively secure conditions by 1958 and developed different expectations than we, the older ones. Again, different is the initial experience and expectation of life of those who were born in 1968. Of course, the initial experience and expectation of life also differ within the generations. Thus every generation has the right and the duty to contribute its own experiences and expectations as its share to the state and to the life of our society. Based on this realization, we must ask on the 40th anniversary: Where do we come from? Where do we stand? Where are we going?

We take from the time of reconstruction what we can keep and preserve. That is the unconditional obligation to work for peace among the peoples and prevent war,

fight the ideology of National Socialism and its anti-human consequences, work for social security for all citizens, for equal educational and professional opportunities, and for the common participation in the fruits of our work. The GDR as a socialist state with a socialist system has pursued these goals from the beginning. We must keep to them....

After 40 years of the GDR, we have now reached a situation which requires a change in the direction of our road. The rising number of those applying for exit visas, the mass emigration of GDR citizens across the Hungarian-Austrian border, and other troubling attempts to force their exit from the GDR are only a particularly obvious expression of the much more broadly based demand for change in the state and in society.... We want our citizens to stay in the GDR. We want to help bring about changes in our society which make life there attractive. We want to achieve this for, and not against, our state and our society. We are convinced that the GDR's stability, which our neighbors also wish, is maintained through change; however, it is jeopardized if such change is postponed....

We can state necessities in two areas. The first area is a medium-term one and is a challenge to those who hold political and social responsibility and to us, the GDR citizens. It involves consequences from the respect for the citizens' responsibility and judgment. It has to do with the relationship between the responsible people in the state and in society on the one hand, and the citizens, on the other. In 1945 this relationship was determined by care and solicitude. There is really understanding for the fact that it was a parent-child relationship in the threatening conditions of need. This cannot continue today. The children have grown up. The relationship must be viewed as a partnership. The citizen does not need to be lectured by the responsible people in the state and in society, nor can he dodge responsibility for the state and society. Both need to hold a dialogue as partners on the basic conditions of our living together.

We urgently need a frank discussion on the course of our future domestic policy. That is only possible with an open media policy. That includes reports on the successes and failures, performance and shortcomings, and unreserved listening to the citizens. Reservations about positions differing from the policy that is represented by the authorities must be overcome. Such positions do not automatically jeopardize the state; they are just different views of responsible, thinking people. It must also be possible to express such positions in peaceful demonstrations.

We urgently need a renewal of the GDR's election law. In an "opinion-forming process regarding inquiries in connection with local elections," the Conference of Church Directorates has submitted the urgent request to the GDR Government to amend the election law in a way that allows the individual citizen to clearly answer the question he is asked on the ballot-paper, by voting yes or no or by abstaining. The citizen must be able to see that his vote is respected and is of importance to the government.

An urgently needed change lies in the possibility for all citizens to be legally entitled to travel or emigrate to all countries. An official arrangement regarding a citizen's return to the GDR after his emigration must be created and made public soon.

The second area regarding necessary future change is a long-term one and is also a challenge to the European neighbors, particularly the FRG. It seems that history, with which we have not come to term, has overtaken us. The fact that the border between the FRG and the GDR has become more penetrable—which we have specifically welcomed—has revived an understandable question. Why has the result of the terrible war which started from German soil had such different effects in the east and west of our fatherland? This question cannot be discarded as mean "material" thinking and even less as "betrayal of the socialist society." It is absolutely normal for people who want to shape their future. In this respect, the FRG's economic superiority is becoming increasingly attractive as long as existing counterweights in the life of people in the GDR cannot be experienced convincingly by the individual citizen.

Well-informed parish members explain it to us, and we ourselves realize: Economic reforms are necessary. They must release and include the great opportunities of the citizens' personal initiatives and responsibility. These opportunities exist in all generations and strata of our population.

Finally it is the task of our country to make our currency convertible. This will only be achieved together with the FRG and in the existing economic alliance if a solid basis is created by far-reaching and long-term economic contracts between completely equal partners. We have all the prerequisites for such a course: educated and industrious people, a reliable policy in the repayment of credits, and a domestic structure that promotes a modern industrial state. The decisive factor is that this course is desired and will be started without delay.

Thus, while some important changes have been addressed, not all the necessary changes have been. They can only be implemented step by step. However, we now need clear indications that they will be initiated. We expect appropriate decisions. These must open the future and stimulate the GDR citizens to commit themselves anew to our society and our state. I want to state completely dispassionately that the course described will make high demands on us and will not be a road to the land of milk and honey. However, choosing it will be worthwhile. Therefore, many will exert themselves, and this is the main point.

None of the things that have been said about the future course is new. The exhortation to the Conference of the Church Directorates to strive for talks with the GDR Government regarding the maturity of the citizens, the educational system, and military service pervaded the

whole legislative period of the fifth synod of the Federation. The Presidium of the Conference of Church Directorates repeatedly asked the state secretary for church affairs for such talks. They were promised to be held in the form of "informative talks" but were later canceled. A new attempt to start these talks was not successful. We will not permit ourselves to be discouraged from addressing the vital questions of our people, dealing with the questions and contributions of our parish members, and briefing our parishes on these things....

I am convinced that the consideration of the mandate of the Church and activities in the church sector are among our main tasks. Activities in the political field follow from this. We are very preoccupied with this field because, apart from us, there is no institution which publicly voices everything that happens in our society. If nobody else does this, we have to do it for the sake of the people. I also do not know whether the responsible people in the state and in society will understand our words as a positive contribution to the pressing questions of social life. If the objective and open presentation is an obstacle, then unfortunately no understanding will be achieved. I am convinced of this. It will lead to nothing if, for the sake of a good atmosphere of talks, we do not say what oppresses many people....

Peace Group Members Given Jail Sentences

LD2009215289 Hamburg DPA in German 1819 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Four young people from Leipzig, who were detained on 11 September after a peace prayer in Nikolai Church, have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment of 4 months each. According to the Leipzig coordinating group for those in custody, the sentences were handed down by means of an order of summary punishment and without a court hearing. The charge: "Riotous assembly." A lawyer lodged an appeal against the orders of summary punishment. Of those detained on 11 September, at least seven further young people are in investigative custody, according to this information.

The group still has no complete overview on the fate of those detained on 18 September—the numbers vary between 50 and over 100 in this case. It was said that several of them were again at large.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-19 Sep

AU2109092989

[Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 18 to 20 September reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Environmental Protection Committee at the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in Berlin on 19 September. (20 Sep, p 1)

Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and GDR defense minister, received a Cuban Army delegation, headed by Rear Admiral Pedro Miguel Perez Betancourt, in Berlin on 19 September. (20 Sep, p 2)

Politburo member Guenter Mittag received Youcef Kraiba, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, for his farewell visit in Berlin on 19 September. (20 Sep, p 2)

Politburo Member Erich Mueckenberger received Wolf Ehrlich, chairman of the Central Planning Commission of the Israeli Communist Party in Berlin on 18 September. (19 Sep, p 2)

Szuros Holds Washington News Conference

LD2109094989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Matyas Szuros, on the last day of his Washington visit, held a news conference. Gabor Gyorgy reports:

The Hungarian processes are more and more independent from the situation in the Soviet Union. The preconditions of Hungarian neutrality have to be created now. At the congress, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party is to become a socialist party by adopting a platform of reform spirit. These were the most interesting statements made by National Assembly Chairman Matyas Szuros, at a Washington press conference held on the last day of his U.S. visit amidst extraordnary U.S. interest. Local journalists were asking questions for an hour and a half, and they stopped only because the National Assembly chairman had other appointments.

Asked if the United States granted a lot to the Hungarian request, Matyos Szuros said yes, however; it only refers to the future; because trade limitations have not yet been lifted and the flow of capital has not yet begun, so real support has not yet been given to us. However, he continued, because the other socialist countries introduced reforms are unable to help, we can only hope for genuine support from the developed democratic countries. And it is here, when a sentence worthy of attentian was said: Only democracies can really cooperate with democracies.

Details of GDR Citizens' Crossings Reported

LD2009205389 Budapest MTI in English 1459 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—Wednesday has been the 10th day that the Hungarian-Austrian border is open to GDR citizens wishing to go to the FRG via Hungary. The main direction is still towards Hegyeshalom. MTI was told at Gyor border guard headquarters on Wednesday that the number of GDR citizens entering Austria at Hegyeshalom until noon, September 20, was 12,120. Sixty-three persons returned during the 10 days.

At the three busiest crossing stations on the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border —Rajka, Vamosszabadi, Komarom—18,890 GDR citizens left Hungary during the past 10 days, and 22,200 entered the country in the same period. The number of illegal arrivals has increased, many swimming the Danube or crossing it in boats, others trying to break through to Hungarian territory in cars. The Hungarian border guard acted in a humane way, allowing out to Austria those who posessed valid travelling documents, and putting those without the necessary papers in care of the Red Cross.

Justice Minister Cited on GDR Refugee Problem

LD1909085589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] On the occasion of his visit to the FRG, the Hungarian minister of justice announced that our country will keep its western border open to the East German emigres until there is some kind of agreement on the refugee affair between the two German states. Gyorgy Bernath reports from Bonn.

[Bernath] [Justice Minister] Kalman Kulcsar was presented in the news as one of the Hungarian Government's reformer members, whose objective is pluralism and the market economy, and the realization of constitutional and legal reforms that would create the conditions for this. Together with FRG Justice Minister Hans Engelhard, he also spoke about this, while the official briefing designated as the main topic matters of legal aid. However, as is usual at Hungarian-FRG discussions these days, the Bonn minister first and foremost expressed thanks for Hungary's decisions connected with the emigrating GDR citizens.

A reporter asked Kalman Kulcsar for his comment on the fact that Czechoslovak officials are stopping and sending back home GDR citizens heading for Hungary, whereas they want to cross the border with valid documents. The Hungarian justice minister was hearing this for the first time. His opinion is that nobody has the right to stop anyone who has valid documents for Hungary.

GDR Agents 'Kidnap' Children of Refugees

AU1709142989 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 17 Sep 89 p 5

[Report by Claus Pandi: "GDR Agents Even Kidnap Children of Refugees"]

[Excerpts] Budapest—Mean and perfidious! The communist functionaries of the GDR stop at nothing. Now they have even kidnapped the children of refugees. Subsequently, the agents threatened the desperate parents: "Come back or you will never again see your daughters and sons!" Several families, who had been blackmailed in this way, had to return to East Germany. [passage omitted]

Horrified emigres in the Red Cross camps in Freilassing (FRG) said that GDR agents have even followed the children of refugees.

Some of these informers positioned themselves in front of the Budapest reception camp I in Zugliget. On Thursday night [14 September], they abducted a 5-year-old girl from there and took her to the GDR Embassy in the CSSR.

Subsequently, the secret agents put pressure on the child's parents: "Unless you return immediately, you have to say goodbye to your daughter."

So far two such cases of abduction have been reported; however, according to East Germans who have come to Austria, these are not isolated cases.

'Harrassment' of Ex-Romanian Official Increases

LD1909031489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1910 GMT 18 Sep 89

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] The verbal message of Karoly Kiraly of Transylvania reached me this morning. Karoly Kiraly was first secretary of the Kovaszna County Party Committee until in a letter addressed to [Romanian President] Ceausescu, he protested the trampling of nationality rights. His letter was also published in the Western press. He was moved, replaced, moved, replaced, he is under surveillance to this day and—even in the view of the most even-headed observers—his life is at risk, just like that of Mrs Cornea, Professor Masilu and others. This is the message:

Karoly Kiraly asks the Hungarian leaders to do everything in the interest of continuing Hungarian-Romanian negotiations. He considers as unpredictable the reaction of the Romanian political leadership. News is spreading in Romania that in order to make Hungary's position more difficult the Romanian border will be opened and attempts will be made to organize provocations.

Since his interview was published in NEPSZABADSAG on 5 August the harrassment of Karoly Kiraly has increased. At the county party committee they wanted to persuade him to dissociate himself, in a sense, from his own opinion and he was asked about his contacts in Hungary. In his view, the affair can have the most serious consequences and this is why he asks us to call the attention of public opinion to this affair—perhaps it provides protection. He sends the message that despite the difficulties he is steafast in his determination, as yet, to stay in his homeland and his nationality.

Kulcsar Received by FRG's Genscher

LD2009102289 Budapest MTI in English 0638 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn, September 20 (MTI)—On meeting Kalman Kulcsar, Hungarian minister of justice, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, repeatedly expressed his thanks to the Hungarian Government for making possible travel for GDR citizens with the intention of resettlement. Mr Kulcsar stressed in his reply that as the Hungarian Government has set out on the road to a law state, plural democracy and the guaranteeing of human rights, it was its duty to make this gesture.

Mr Genscher said the Federal Government wants to support Hungary's internal development and the government's activity in every possible way. He emphasized the importance of the reform wing within the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and sent his greetings to Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, whom he will shortly meet in New York.

Social Democratic Party Members Train in Vienna

AU1509193089 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Matthias Pongracz report]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Members of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party are currently in Vienna to attend a seminar at the Karl Rennert Institute of the Socialist Party of Austria [SPOe], which they hope will provide some information about how to organize a Western type mass party with a market-economy orientation. They say that they urgently need such information, because their entire infrastructure was totally destroyed during the past 41 years when their party was illegal. So the party activists meet in pubs and cafes again today to start work from zero, they say.

Hardly had the Social Democratic Party been founded when it split into factions which paralyze each other in fierce policy struggles and isolate the party politically. The Hungarian political scientist Gyorgy Markus illustrated this by a comparison. Whereas opinion polls in March predicted a vote of 14 percent for the Social Democrats in the case of new elections—which would rank them second following the ruling Communists with a vote of 35 percent—this percentage dropped to a mere 2.2 percent in August according to opinion polls; the percentage of the communists dropped to 14 percent, according to these polls. The conservative populist Democratic Forum, which is decried as being nationalist, achieved an impressive 35 percent.

The question of how to make politics in these circumstances, has split the Hungarian Social Democrats. Some of them see their main political opponent in the right camp—in the Democratic Forum and among the bourgeois forces and parties. Others, such as (Sandor Baszgoy), party veteran and leader of the old guard, see their opponent in the left camp—among the Hungarian communists. He says [begin (Baszgoy) recording in Hungarian with superimposed German translation]: Due to our bitter experience in 1948 when the forced integration of our party by the communists led to a shift to the left, we [words indistinct]. We warn about a rapprochement to the communists. In this respect, we differ from the young people. We want to remain a force of the center and turn totally away from the communists. [end recording]

Horn Receives Iraqi, Palestinian Envoys

LD2009124189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] The Palestinian and Iraqi ambassadors to Budapest have expressed their regrets about the restoration of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations. At the same time the two Arab diplomats, who were received by

Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, emphasized that they considered the decision a Hungarian internal affair. The ambassadors were pleased to hear that Hungary will endeavor to continue developing her relations with the Arab countries.

One of the radical Palestinian groups has criticized the Budapest leadership for Hungary's resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel. According to the organization led by George Habash, [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] the Hungarian step encourages the Zionist state to continue ignoring the rights of Palestinians.

Trade Minister on Foreign Investment

AU1909152289 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 18 Sep 89 p 8

[Interview with Hungarian Trade Minister Tamas Beck by Dieter Koffler: "No Structural Change Without Capital"; place and date not given]

[Text] Dieter Koffler: The creation of a liberal environment for private initiatives and the privatization of state enterprises is essential for leading the Hungarian economy to international competitiveness. To what degree have the privatization plans been realized from your viewpoint as trade minister?

Tamas Beck: First of all, we have created the possibility of establishing enterprises in the form of corporations. The law regulating the transformation of companies took effect on 1 January, which, among other things, is designed to protect foreign investments and to create tax incentives. Thus, we guarantee investors tax exemption for 5 years in 20 areas, and grant them a 60-percent tax reduction as of the 6th year.

However, it will take some time until the new measures yield the desired results. Thus, the willingness to take decisions and the required competence structures are not always there. "If I visit an enterprise, who is my partner on the Hungarian side who has the same decision-making power as I have?" a top manager asked me during my most recent visit to the FRG.

We must create flexible structures in order to achieve economic success. Therefore it is important to establish as many stock corporations as possible, regardless of their ownership structure, in order to attract know-how and capital.

Koffler: Do you not risk a sellout of the Hungarian economy by allowing unlimited participation by foreign enterprises?

Beck: As a matter of fact, a discussion has been initiated about the sellout of our economy. However, it is mainly fanned by members of alternative groups or left-wing radicals. I arrive at a different conclusion if I view Hungary in an international context. The president of the Federal Economic Chamber, Sallinger, told me during our most recent meeting that foreign participation in Austrian enterprises is 36 percent. In Ireland, the figure is twice as high. International interdependence is not only a matter of course in the West, but one of the factors responsible for its flourishing. Foreign participation in Hungary was also 20-25 percent before the war. Our economy did particularly well when foreign participation was very high.

Koffler: What degree of foreign participation has the Hungarian economy reached so far? What is its percentage in relation to the value of the Hungarian enterprises?

Beck: The total value of our industry is estimated at some $30 billion. Since joint ventures were introduced in 1972, we have achieved a foreign participation of about $400 million to this day. In Spain, $7 billion were invested in the past year alone, $1 billion in Turkey, and $1.5 billion in Greece, to cite a few examples. Compared to that, the sums that have been invested in our country are almost ridiculous. Thus, nobody can speak of a sellout.

Koffler: Is there an alternative to foreign participation?

Beck: Our foreign indebtedness is very high, and the sums that we have to provide for the payment of interest are enormous. Because of the fact that we have to pay back such huge sums, we are not in a position to procure the money that is necessary to modernize our economic structures. However, it is essential to bring about structural changes to boost our exports. Exports in turn are the most important factor to achieve financial soundness, which guarantees more loans. To accomplish this, a new flow of capital, such as in the form of foreign investment, must be brought about.

Koffler: Does increasing tourism in Hungary not represent such a source of capital?

Beck: It is true that revenues from tourism have reached an unprecedented level. However, because of the government's decision to use foreign currency to ensure domestic supply, the majority of exchange earnings are not received by the economy. The Hungarians make use of their new liberties, they travel to the West and spend foreign currency there. I am afraid that we have created a Western passport system but have not eliminated our Eastern foreign currency system.

Koffler: The convertibility of the currency would definitely be an essential precondition to achieve that. How long do you think it will take for the forint to become completely convertible?

Beck: This is a question one should ask the Delphic Oracle. After all, the problem cannot be solved by declaring the currency convertible and adapting the economy afterwards. A perfect economy is the precondition for a complete convertibility. This will certainly take a few more years.

Of course, convertibility represents an extraordinarily important goal. In this way, new and better conditions would be created for the entire trade policy.

Koffler: What kind of help do you expect from Austria on your path toward a market economy?

Beck: Austria can help us in many ways. For one thing, it is a member of the European Free Trade Association, and for another, it has very close ties with the EC. Thus, Austria would be in a position to help us achieve integration in Europe in harmony with its own efforts.

We would be glad if Austria would comply with our request, voiced for many years, to allow a contingent of Hungarian citizens to work in Austria. We have recently concluded a similar agreement with the FRG. It is important for us that our workers improve their skills in economically more highly developed countries, which can be used in our economy.

Medgyessy Discusses Foreign Economic Relations

AU2009101989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Sep 89 p 8

[Interview with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy, by Zsuzsa Gal: "How Many Taps Can One Turn Off?—Peter Medgyessy on Reorganizing Our Foreign Economic Relations"—date and place not given]

[Text] The decrease in the supply of Soviet electric power announced for September has perhaps given rise to greater panic than needed, but it has justifiably brought this question to the surface, a question that has always been present, albeit in a dormant way: How many more taps can we turn off? To what extent does the Hungarian economy—including the household economy—depend on the CEMA countries, and is it possible to reduce this dependency in such a way as to avoid both national isolation and the danger of depending on others? We asked Peter Medgyessy to answer these questions.

[Gal] Although hardly more than half our foreign trade turnover connects us to the CEMA countries, we still feel that this means greater dependence than our other foreign economic relations. Is this really the case?

[Medgyessy] Yes, it is, in so far as the mutual exchange of goods can always be more subject to bargaining than the sources of energy supplied through pipelines, because in this case the existence or nonexistence of such pipelines is a decisive factor. Therefore, we are highly dependent on the socialist countries, and especially on the Soviet Union, in our electric power, gas, and mineral oil imports. However, two things should be added here. It is only natural that we import energy from the Soviet Union, because Soviet energy is cheap and is close, while the other neighboring countries—Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy—are also importers of energy. On the other hand, our previous development decisions involving adequate foresight and national responsibility should have worked out a multilateral energy system.

It Is Difficult To Find Markets

[Gal] What kind of energy system would you consider to be adequate today?

[Medgyessy] The answer to this question is difficult, because no energy source today is without social opposition. Long-distance electricity transmission lines have turned out to be dangerous to the people and animals near them; coal and oil fuels are extremely polluting sources of energy; hydropower stations spoil the landscape and upset the ecological balance; there is hardly a need for any explanation about the dangers of nuclear power stations. Therefore, it is difficult to find a satisfactory source of energy. However, the current situation is not good either, because it really means dependence, albeit not really unilateral dependence, because those who have set up these lines have invested a lot of money in them because they wanted to operate this system.

[Gal] This is not particularly comforting, given the small size of the Hungarian market. Besides, the question arises whether we should not have a different orientation in our foreign economic relations.

[Medgyessy] Perhaps we should have such a different orientation, but not out of such considerations. A country that is present on a certain market and then leaves this market is simply stupid. Nothing is more difficult today than finding a market. Besides, Hungary cannot be pulled out of its geographical surroundings. Therefore, our foreign economic reorientation is not limited by the long-distance energy transmission lines and is not subject to dependence. Economic efficiency is the only determining factor here.

[Gal] In other words, earlier political decisions should be replaced by decisions based on economic efficiency.

[Medgyessy] Precisely so. This does not mean that, so far, we have been trading with the Soviet Union, and from now on we will trade with the United States. Many people misinterpret things in this way. I do not say that such a change is impossible because of our geographical conditions, but I say that this is not the essence of the issue. The essence of the issue is that we must modernize our economy and our production structure, and raise the standard of our products to meet the international standards; the shaping of our foreign economic relations serves this goal. Hungarian industry should not produce for three different markets, but should fulfill the requirements of a unified standard. We are interested in basing our foreign trade relations on market conditions, rather than giving up the socialist markets. We are interested in giving up the sacred plan-coordination talks and quotas, and engaging in foreign trade in the real sense of the word: on world market prices and in convertible currency. Therefore, we must regard the world market, the international achievements, and the developed world as a standard. This is the real and substantial reorientation.

[Gal] Could the recent revaluation of the forint against the ruble be a path that leads to this? I ask you because you

were overruled in this by the Committee for Planned Economy which you headed 1 year ago, and the committee decided to carry out a different exchange rate modification. Now, your previous position has been accepted and this has led to the noisy indignation of exporters.

[Medgyessy] We can expect a genuine solution of our CEMA relations only from the application of world market conditions and from accounting in convertible currency. It is another matter that, in the meantime, we should continue to influence the enterprises to make sure that their exports do not harm the interests of our country and our nation even more. By the end of August 1989, in Hungarian-Soviet trade alone, we accumulated a trade surplus of R600 million; in other words, a similar amount of goods failed to reach our domestic market. Hungary cannot stand this, particularly at a time when we are forced to obtain a trade surplus in our trade accounted in convertible currency, because only this can pay the interest on our debts. A two-way export of capital is intolerable, and it is irresponsible to both the economy and society.

[Gal] How can there be such a lack of trade balance in an area where mutual trade is regulated by quotas?

[Medgyessy] This can happen because Hungarian exporters are pushing Hungarian products out of the country by means of advanced shipments and other methods while, due to domestic economic problems, the Soviet Union is unable to supply a similar surplus amount of goods to Hungary.

[Gal] We started precisely from the delays in the supply of electric power....

[Medgyessy] The mutual delays generally compensate each other. We are lagging behind in the export of light industry products, while they are lagging behind in the supply of electric power and fuel. Our trade surplus derives from other type of products. We are forced to reduce the exports of such products, even if the exchange rate modification causes serious conflicts for the exporters. The problem is that the large-scale enterprises most sensitively affected by this were specially developed for socialist exports, and this was done at the government's suggestion. Thus, the government has a responsibility toward them.

A Distorted Pricing System [Gal] Without being the unwanted advocate of the government, I think that one can also interpret this matter the other way round. A responsible government attitude makes the enterprises face reality and forces them to sell their products on the world market, that is, to modernize their products. Is this not in the real interest of the enterprises?

[Medgyessy] It is, without doubt; but the enterprises can claim that they need money for restructuring. Although the government helps restructuring in many ways, such as with export tenders and even with subsidies in cases where the enterprise incomes have fallen considerably as a result of a lack of Soviet export demands, I still claim that the exchange rate modification gives a forecast, a strict forecast that these enterprises are not advancing in the right way and so they have to change their production structure. For our foreign economic reorientation, the constant modification of the exchange rate provides only a half solution. Our orientation continues to be bad because the accounting system and the pricing system are bad within CEMA, and we cannot provide a good exchange rate for a bad pricing system. We need another pricing system which will provide a correct orientation for the Hungarian economy.

[Gal] Why is this pricing system so bad for us, a pricing system that gives us cheap energy and raw materials? Why should we urge a change when this would cost us a lot?

[Medgyessy] First of all, this low energy cost is no longer true. However, I have an even more serious argument. I will give you an example. While there is an oversupply of cars all over the world, people in the socialist countries have to wait many years for a car. My predecessors repeatedly tried to lay the foundations for the domestic production of cars, and I have also tried to do that. Why did we not succeed? Let us take a Lada motor car! Today, we sell this car to customers for about 200,000 forints, including a considerable government levy on it. If we import a similar type but more modern Western car, it will cost twice as much, without a government levy on it. Do you think that the Soviet car industry is working so much more efficiently, cheaply, and economically? Of course not. A distorted pricing system is to be blamed for the fact that the Soviet car appears on the market in a way that makes it looks as if it were cheaper to manufacture.

Efficiency Instead of Losses

[Gal] Anyway, the Hungarian consumer buys it more cheaply than any other Western car.

[Medgyessy] Only seemingly. In reality the Hungarian citizen also pays a high price for the Soviet Lada cars, in other products, in other areas. If the Lada cars are cheap, the Hungarian exports are also cheap; therefore, we must provide large subsidies to make production worthwhile. In the final analysis, the citizens and the entire society pay for these subsidies, so the Lada cars are not so cheap after all, even if their price is not so high. We are trading in a pricing system that has greatly deviated from the real product value. Although nothing will be considerably cheaper as a result of this, this gives the impression that it is not worthwhile to manufacture cars with Western cooperation. We must get rid of this illogical pricing system that disturbs the entire economy and drives our foreign economic orientation in the wrong direction.

[Gal] By all means?

[Medgyessy] It is in our lasting interest to shift to world market prices and convertible currency, and we cannot subordinate this requirement to the current short-term argument that this can now be costly for the people's economy. The price we must pay for incorrect development and production decisions is much higher than the

price to be paid for necessary changes. It is true that one can see the latter and describe its causes. Therefore, in my view, we must negotiate about whether the Soviet Union is ready to give up part of the advantages accompanied by this restructuring, advantages it would not enjoy without this change.

We have conflicts with the international monetary organizations, because they claim that we indirectly transfer to the socialist countries a part of their loans to us by means of this trade surplus. In spite of this, it is possible that they could finance part of the expense incurred in radically restoring the pricing system because, in this case, they support a rational market orientation, a reorientation, and a better production structure, rather than the accumulation of losses. Any bank or financial institution can support such a cause.

[Gal] You mentioned a radical change. Is it not possible to gradually shift to world market prices?

[Medgyessy] In my view, some kind of interim solution is impracticable for the Soviet side and would threaten a return to the old ways and the return of quotas. We must stick to a radical change, carried out in one step. This would create a clear situation in the distorted interests and would also provide a good basis for an evaluation of Hungary's economic reorientation. We are not alone in being oriented in a wrong direction by distorted standards, and therefore the Soviet side is also interested in restoring market conditions, at least if the current progressive leadership continues to prevail. We are preparing for this.

Reform Platform on MSZMP Renewal Published

AU2009113889 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 13 Sep 89 p 5

["A Radical Renewal of the Party—Reform Platform for the MSZMP Congress in October"]

[Text] I. Our party is in serious danger. The danger threatening the party is that it will lose its role as a decisive factor in Hungarian political life, it will degenerate into having a secondary political role and will be forced into opposition, where it will have to learn everything in a long and bitter learning process, things that it has failed to learn up to now under much more favorable conditions. The MSZMP has become unable to function as the party of the state, but it is not yet prepared for political competition, and thus it is currently unable to function as a real partner. The party should break away from this threat by moving forward, and not by retreating. That is why the party needs a radical renewal and a new party platform for the reorganized party.

The people who have been stubbornly hindering radical reform of the party since the party conference in May are responsible for the deep crisis of the party, and these people also threaten the party's future. Thus, the party has increasingly lagged behind the rapid political changes that are under way in Hungarian society, and by the summer of 1989 the party had reached a critical point. Only a complete renewal of the party can halt and reverse this self- destructive process, and such a renewal would also enable the party to regain its influence in society, because a progressive, left-wing, and democratic socialist party can count on broad mass support in Hungary. However, we must be aware of the fact that we cannot, and should not, maintain the party's previous unity, and therefore, we must part in a civilized but firm way with those who do not share in the radical renewal and reorganization of the party.

II. The new program declaration issued on 19 August 1989 was already formulated in the spirit of this radical renewal, but also in the spirit of an endeavor for a narrower party to replace the old unity with a new type of unity based on a strong commitment to reform. The most important task at present is to submit the draft program declaration to public debate and, on the basis of this debate, to mobilize the party's spiritual and political resources for the upcoming party congress. In our view, the tasks of this extraordinary congress are the following:

1. to carry out a radical change of leaders, and this means to dismiss not only thoroughly compromised "political mummies" but also those leaders who are unable to renew and who do not have a firm commitment to reform, in other words, people who are unable to successfully engage in politics under radically new conditions. These people have already caused a lot of damage to the party with their hindering role, their hesitations, and their trailing after events. We can carry out a radical reform in the party only with new types of leaders who enjoy the confidence of our entire society and are able to ensure the success of the party in the elections;

2. to carry out an organizational renewal—and the landslide in Zala and the national reform circles movement in general provide a good example of this—to change the party into a movement and bring about the democratic control of the members over the leading organs of the party. The party needs a rich variety of horizontal and vertical organizations in order to express and unify the energies of the democratic socialist movement; however, this requires a final and open break with democratic centralism and the organization of various competitive platforms on a national level.

3. to achieve an opening as a people's party and to break away from the myth that the working class was a "ruling class" under state socialism and that the present endeavor to represent the political interests of the entire modern society of intellectual and manual workers would deprive it of something. Besides, large enterprise workers were the greatest losers in the dead-end modernization of state socialism such as the conservation of extensive industrialization: This created the first generation of low-skill and low-income workers deprived of their political and economic interest organizations. The real interest of the working class is to become a well-trained working class

with a high level of consumption by modernizing production. The renewed party should embark on this endeavor, rather than the further conservation of the production structure in order to preserve the short-term interests of some strata of the working class.

4. to change the name of the party as an expression of the entire renewal or reorganization and to present a noteworthy image to the entire population. With regained confidence and renewed unity following a successful congress, the renewed party as a Democratic Socialist Party or a Hungarian Socialist Party would have good chances in the next elections.

III. The situation is tense and the alternative is clear: Either there will be a radical renewal at the upcoming party congress in October and the reform forces will achieve a decisive breakthrough, or the conservative forces of the party and the forces that advance very carefully will hinder this renewal and there will only be cosmetic changes. In the event of the former, the party's image in Hungarian society would change positively and the party could strengthen its position in guiding the national renewal and the transition to democracy. In the event of the latter, stagnation would continue, the erosion of the party would accelerate, and the party would be forced in the background for a long time.

The stakes are not so much the upcoming elections but the long-term future of Hungarian progressive left-wing and democratic socialism. We have to bear in mind the united efforts of the progressive forces for survival and their demand to belong to the international left-wing movement. Renewal or decline? —that is the question today.

Government Spokesman Discusses Session

AU2009125189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Sep 89 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Initiatives for Settling Hungarian-Vatican Diplomatic Relations—Press Conference by Acting Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok"—in Budapest, on 14 September]

[Excerpts] At its session on 14 September, the Council of Ministers reviewed the details of the currency regulations issued on 18 September, regulations that affect the population. The government listened to a report on the legislative tasks of the political transition period. The Council of Ministers reviewed the planned modification of the law on the general turnover tax and the private income tax, as well as the planned modernization of the tax system on private ventures. At an international press conference following the government session, Zsolt Bajnok briefed the journalists about the government session. [passage omitted]

MTI Foreign Broadcasts: Are the rumors true that the government has abrogated the agreement on dual citizenship with Romania?

Zsolt Bajnok: The Hungarian-Romanian agreement on avoiding dual citizenship was signed in 1979. The issue of whether the two sides want to extend the agreement or abrogate it is discussed every 5 years. The 5-year cycle ends in February 1990. No decision has yet been made because time is not pressing. However, I would like to say that, in our view, this agreement meets neither the requirements of our domestic political public opinion nor the requirements of our age. Therefore, the competent Hungarian organs are of the opinion that this agreement should be modified. I repeat: The issue is not yet on the agenda. [passage omitted]

MAGYAR HIRLAP: On the occasion of his visit in Hungary, U.S. President George Bush initiated the establishment of a regional environmental protection center in Budapest. He would like to lay the foundations of such a center by providing $5 million. Where does the practical preparation of this issue stand?

Zsolt Bajnok: The question is justified. The issue of this center is advancing promisingly. Not long after President Bush had left Hungary, a delegation of U.S. experts arrived in Hungary which, although it did not come to discuss this issue exclusively, its composition was quite adequate for examining the possibility of setting up such a center here. Our guests agreed with the relevant Hungarian hosts to start genuine talks on the issue in November. [passage omitted]

MAI NAP: Does the government plan a forint devaluation in the near future?

Zsolt Bajnok: No, it is not planning such a step. However, I must add that I would not admit it even if the government were planning such a step. [passage omitted]

British Television: How does Hungary intend to avoid becoming a transit country? Under its current economic situation, to what extent is Hungary prepared to meet the possible financial burdens involved in joining the Geneva convention on refugees?

Zsolt Bajnok: My answer to your first question is that there is no such plan yet, simply because experience so far shows that—apart from the GDR refugees—there will not be people from other countries embarking on such a transit tour through Hungary, at least not large masses of people. I hope that the financial effects of our joining the refugee convention will not be so serious so as to hurt this country, which is in an extremely difficult economic situation as it is. In any case, there is a clear decision about our intention to fulfill all such obligations by 100 percent. [passage omitted]

Dudla Announces Retirement From Office

LD2009202389 Budapest MTI in English 1917 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] committee of Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen county (in Hungary) held its last session

on Wednesday. At the county party conference to be held on Saturday, the mandate of the party committee expires and the election of the new leadership is to take place.

At the Wednesday party committee session, held in preparation of the party conference, it was announced by Jozsef Dudla, member of the HSWP Political Executive Committee, first secretary of the party committee, that he is requesting the nomination committee not to nominate him to the new party organ and apparatus in light of the new party structure.

Underlining his committal to party reforms, Mr Dudla said that he is backing the new party structure, being more in line with the new function of the party committee. He himself was among those who put forward the related initiatives. He is retiring in order to give place to persons suitable for the new tasks ahead, for allowing gifted young people to take their place in the new leadership.

'Communique' on SZOT Meeting Published

AU1309200489 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 8 Sep 89 p 1

["The Negotiation Proposals of the National Council of Trade Unions to the Government—Communique on the SZOT Meeting of 6 September"]

[Text] I

The National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] held a meeting on 6 September. Based on General Secretary Sandor Nagy's report, the body discussed timely trade union policy issues and formulated a position.

The SZOT concluded that the content and tone of the current debate between the trade unions and the government does not contribute to useful cooperation. The SZOT regarded the recent warning strike as an act that drew attention more emphatically than ever to the justified discontent of people living on wages and salaries.

The SZOT confirmed that the trade unions continue to believe in a negotiated solution, but they cannot give up their means of applying pressure.

The SZOT outlined the following negotiation proposal:

—the trade unions initiate the tax-free introduction of the minimum 3-percent wage increase in the case of enterprises where this increase could not be introduced this year;
—because of higher inflation than planned, the SZOT finds it expedient to renegotiate the agreement on minimal wages, family allowances, and low pensions;
—the wages prevailing in the area of public service and budget institutions should be revised;
—the government should prevent a further increase in inflation in the remaining months of this year by all the means at its disposal.

II

Evaluating the situation that emerged in the tripartite negotiations, the SZOT plenum confirmed that the trade union delegation could not participate in the negotiations as an organization that only bears the burden of agreements but does not have real rights. For the transitional period, the SZOT continues to consider it important to conduct negotiations with the participation of all sides in question, in order to solve the economic and social tensions. Therefore, the SZOT wants to participate in every forum in the future too, forums where equal partners will discuss equal views and opinions, and where they will receive guarantees that they can actively contribute to the formulation of agreements.

The SZOT plenum highly appreciates the declaration of the good-will committee, and the SZOT stresses at the same time that only a session of the Political Coordination Committee can solve this conflict by reevaluating the previous positions.

The SZOT plenum declares that the trade union federation it represents has never differentiated between citizens and their organizations by judging the interests and positions they represent, nor will the trade union federation intend to do so in the future. The SZOT expects similar conduct from all the political forces committed to a peaceful transition, and the SZOT will make further steps dependent on clear proof of such behavior.

III

The SZOT calls upon the Democratic League of Trade Unions to restart bilateral negotiations between representatives of the SZOT and the league's leaders. The SZOT proposes the following for these negotiations:

—a review of the economic and social situation, and a review of subsequent trade union tasks;
—the modernization of the mechanism of interest coordination;
—the use and increase of trade union property for the benefit of its members.

The SZOT points out that both sides should refrain from qualifying each other's activity, and this will contribute to the success of the talks.

IV

The SZOT discussed the relations of the trade unions with the political parties and repeatedly confirmed its earlier position according to which these relations are basically determined by the extent these parties take into consideration the employees' rights and interests in their programs and everyday policy. The SZOT listened to a report on the session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee held on 1 September, including the reasons that caused SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy and Laszlo Kovacs, general secretary of the Miners' Trade Union, to resign from their MSZMP Central Committee membership. The SZOT accepted the report with consensus.

V

The SZOT will hold its next meeting on 22 September. The body will discuss the economic policy concepts of the trade union and, according to the plan, it will also discuss a report on the workers' participation in the leadership and on exercising trade union rights.

SZOT's Kovacs on Leaving Roundtable Talks

AU1409181789 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 8 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with SZOT Secretary Mrs Kosa Magda Kovacs, by Andras S. Boda: "No Decision Can Be Made Over the Head of the Third Party—Interview With Mrs Kosa Magda Kovacs on Departure of the SZOT Delegation From the Talks"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The recent act of the delegation of the National Council of Trade Union [SZOT], a demonstrative withdrawal from the negotiating room, an act that hinders the tripartite political coordinating talks of the National Roundtable, caused a "political landslide," even in the current bustle of the domestic political life that can hardly be called peaceful. Our correspondent Andras S. Boda interviewed Mrs Kosa Magda Kovacs, head of the SZOT negotiating delegation, about the precedents for and causes of this withdrawal, and about the possibilities of continuing the talks.

[Boda] The withdrawal of the SZOT delegation from the talks has shocked and surprised many people because, as is well known, during the emergence of the National Roundtable negotiations long debates were held about the presence of the trade unions in the political coordination talks. Has your willingness to participate lasted only this long?

[Kovacs] This is not the case by far. We have always been of the opinion that public organizations that represent interests, represent a decisive majority of Hungarian society, and also represent masses of workers who are not party members should also participate in the National Roundtable and at the tripartite political coordination talks. Based on this, we demand our participation, and we set conditions for our further participation in the talks.

[Boda] The debate on the independent right of the public organizations to nominate candidates was the real reason behind your departure from the talks, or the casus belli.

[Kovacs] This was indeed the immediate reason, but here we are also talking about the basic position. While the agreement on the start of tripartite talks stipulated that the third side has negotiating and decisionmaking rights, the Opposition Roundtable questioned our right to participate in the decisionmaking mechanism. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party did not take a position when this conflict emerged, but 7 days ago it declared the full equal rights of the third side. The Opposition Roundtable failed to do this. [passage omitted]

[Boda] Do the trade unions want to participate in the political coordination talks or not?

[Kovacs] Because we are convinced that any conflict should be solved through negotiations, and we are also convinced that there can be no national consensus without and against the employees who represent the majority of our society, I hope that the talks will continue with our participation. At the same time, I must point out that we do not insist on participating by all means because, as we have repeatedly stated, the trade unions will not accept a role as an extra or as a piece of the decor in making political, social, and economic decisions that will determine the future of our country. [passage omitted]

[Boda] There are people who claim that the withdrawal of the trade union delegation from the talks was also motivated by some sort of movement offense, namely, that the trade unions are now playing a smaller role in politics than before.

[Kovacs] I think that, in the changing political realities, by keeping intact our task of representing interests, the trade unions are facing a changing political fortune. We should formulate our tactics, strategy, and role in accordance with the prevailing politics. As for being offended? I think that those who represent the interests of many millions of people cannot afford to be offended. My opinion about the tone and attitude of people who, exempt from the burden of the past and unaware of the agony of everyday demands to prove oneself, are judging other organizations is another matter. We are talking about a firm political commitment—representing and defending interests—on all political, economic, and social levels, and not about being offended.

Nyers Letter to Pozsgay on New Movement

AU2009143389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Sep 89 p 5

["Letter by the MSZMP Chairman to the Founding Session of the Movement for a Democratic Hungary"]

[Text] For Comrade Imre Pozsgay

Dear Imre Pozsgay!

I send my cordial greetings to the founding meeting of the Movement for A Democratic Hungary. I wish for this movement to successfully contribute to the radical renewal of Hungary's conditions, the modernization of our economic and political system, and to the creation of a new constitution based on a general consensus.

As an active participant in the domestic socialist movement, I am convinced that a democratic Hungary will emerge only if socialist values play a considerable role in its creation and further development, and the broad masses of employees—just like the progressive representatives of our nation's intellectual life—are able to democratically assert their interests and concepts. I live in the hope that the reborn party following the MSZMP congress in October can considerably contribute to national consensus on major issues.

In the spirit of these thoughts, I wish you success for your meeting.

Budapest, 14 September 1989.

Rezso Nyers

Nemeth Meets With Several Church Leaders

LD2009215589 Budapest MTI in English 2001 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—On Wednesday, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met with leaders of the Hungarian Evangelic Church, the National Representation of Hungarian Israelites and the Council of Hungarian Free Churches.

Mr Nemeth informed on the basic principles of the government's renewing church policy, requesting the related views of those attending the meeting, who noted with satisfaction that the government's fundamental goal is to assert human rights on conscience and religious freedom. One of the guarantees thereof is seen in the related bill under elaboration with the active participation of the churches.

An important forum of the dialogue between the government and the churches could be the National Council of Religious Affairs, to be set up with the backing of all those present, who accepted the invitation to take part in the work of the new body.

New Professional Trade Union Established

LD2009214389 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—A new trade union rally of professionals was founded in Budapest on Wednesday. At the initiative of the Trade Union of Scientific Workers, a number of unions have indicated their intention of joining it, including the trade union of those employed in higher education, museums, public education, press, writers, and one member organization of the Trade Union of Agricultural Workers.

The six trade unions mentioned, rally some 100,000 members, who intend to operate as a kind of lobby in the future. They wish to concentrate primarily on the amendment of the present tax system, wage policy, and the reform of the central budget. It was underlined by those taking the floor that the reform process successfully launched a year ago at the National Council of Trade Unions had by now lost momentum. The traditional trade union model is no longer capable of vindicating marginal interests. The aspiration of the new trade union is therefore to achieve a Western-type trade union model.

The new trade union movement operates within the National Council of Trade Unions for the time being but ideas for the future also include becoming independent.

Tourism Promotion Agreement Signed With U.S.

LD2009220689 Warsaw PAP in English
1915 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—Poland and the United States today signed an intergovernmental agreement on developing tourism between both countries. The agreement was signed by U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher, now on an official visit to Poland, and Poland's Minister of Home Trade Aleksander Mackiewicz.

Under the agreement both sides will endorse cooperation and contacts between enterprises and organizations in both countries with a view to developing tourist exchange. Both sides will back joint undertakings in constructing hotels, furnishing them, creating infrastructure for tourism, transportation and other fields of industry associated with it.

Signing the agreement in the conference hall of the newly built Marriott Hotel in Warsaw, Mosbacher stressed that it exemplified a joint undertaking which could grow in number at present.

Mackiewicz noted that at present Americans held third place among tourists visiting Poland (following the FRG and Sweden). The document signed today creates good prospects for millions of Polish Americans as well as businessmen. A joint venture company is being set up by Warsaw's president and the Hyatt International Corporation from Chicago on the construction of a five-star hotel in Warsaw. Hyatt also plans to built two more hotels in Krakow and Wroclaw.

The agreement was signed in the presence of journalists by U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher and Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki.

While assessing his talks in Poland at a press conference, Mosbacher stated that discussed were changes taking place in Poland, including the process of marketisation and in this context possibilities of American assistance for Poland. Beside the sum of 100 million dollars for assistance for Polish agriculture and 100 million dollars for private sector declared earlier, President Bush called on the IMF and the World Bank to follow the U.S. example.

In his talks here Mosbacher stressed that he will call on the U.S. Congress to promptly adopt a law which would guarantee interests of American businessmen investing in Poland. It will certainly be a considerable encouragement for private investors and will increase confidence in the Polish market.

Mosbacher also said that Poland will be able to export to the U.S. 4,100 commodities without tariffs. He added that following the talks the quota for Polish exports of steel to the U.S. was raised by 40 percent.

Mosbacher stated that appreciating the importance of time in the Polish transformations, he decided to prolong his talks with Minister Swiecicki.

Minister Swiecicki recalled that Poland has been preparing conditions for development of private businesses since the beginning of this year. Restrictions hindering their development have been lifted, conditions for formation of enterprises with foreign capital have been created. The private sector in Poland is still too modest, therefore, the agreement should be welcomed with satisfaction.

Referring to Mosbacher's declaration on readiness for further cooperation within a general agreement between Poland and the U.S., Swiecicki assured the American side that Poland is greatly interested in signing such a document.

GDR Refugees Moved From FRG Embassy

LD2009133689 Warsaw PAP in English
1223 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—Unofficial sources have reported that more than 100 GDR citizens were transferred today from the FRG Embassy here to the building of a former seminary in Warsaw.

The Warsaw metrapolitan Curia has not commented on the fact.

FRG Spokesman on Embassy Closing

LD2109011689 Warsaw PAP in English
2341 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn, Sept. 20: Bonn correspondenmt of PAP asked FRG Foreign Ministry spokesman Juergen Chrobog for details on the closing of FRG embassy in Warsaw.

Question: What is meant by "temporary closing of the embassy for individual traffic?"

Answer: The embassy cannot receive individuals, but it has not ceased to perform its hitherto routine duty. The embassy will continue to accept applications for tourist visas by Poles, but only through travel offices at the moment. Other consular matters such as re-settlement or assistance for German tourists in Poland will be attended to outside the embassy.

Q: How long will this new state of affairs last—until the general agreement on refugees in the embassy is reached? This may take a lot of time.

A: We hope to find a humanitarian and pragmatic solution soon. It is hard to say today how long the embassy will be closed.

Warsaw TV Report on Closing

LD2009161889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1415 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Commenting on the question of the GDR citizens who have been staying in the FRG embassy in Warsaw for several days, Foreign Ministry acting spokesman (Wladyslaw Kuraczynski) said: This concerns two states

with which Poland has multilateral relations. We consider that this problem should be resolved between those states in accordance with their interests as well as those of the interested persons.

Mazowiecki Vows Not To Return Refugees to GDR

LD2009134489 Hamburg DPA in German 1209 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to the BILD-ZEITUNG, the Polish head of government, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, has formally assured the FRG Government that, in general, GDR refugees will not be sent back to the GDR by the Polish authorities. This also applied to GDR refugees who are waiting outside the territory of the FRG embassy in Warsaw, the newspaper reports in its Thursday edition.

BILD-ZEITUNG says that this practice contravenes a bilateral extradition treaty between Poland and the GDR. But in discussions with the GDR the government in Warsaw is now citing the CSCE final acts, which grant freedom of movement to all people in Europe and which was also signed by the GDR.

Diplomats in Warsaw see the concession by the Polish Government, according to BILD, as "an important step towards a humanitarian solution."

An edited version of the report was sent to DPA.

Michnik Urges Dialogue With Lithuania, Ukraine

AU2009155089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Sep p 1

[Adam Michnik editorial: "Prudent Thinking"]

[Text] Soviet television's Friday program "Vzglyad" showed a discussion with a Latvian deputy who, in clear and plain terms, was highly critical of the declaration made by the CPSU Central Committee on the situation in the Baltic republics.

In my opinion, the sight of such a free discussion of issues that hitherto were regarded completely taboo is one of the most positive aspects of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. It is only by proceeding along this road that we can create a new kind of thinking; a thinking that will answer the challenge posed by the new situation.

Leszek Miller, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party made the following comments when he recently met with party aktivs in Skierniewice. He said: "Professor Geremek actually said that he is a supporter of German unification—at least that is what it looks like when reading BILD AM SONNTAG. I find such a view held by an influential Polish politician to be astounding. The unification of Germany would mean the introduction of a real imbalance of forces in Europe. On a number of occasions 'Solidarity' politicians have expressed themselves on international matters without due consideration. They uncritically lend support to certain movements in the Baltic republics and the Ukraine, oblivious to the fact that the nationalist dagger of these movements is directed just as equally at Poland, as it is against the Russians. In such matters one must speak with more prudence."

The suggestion that one should speak with prudence is no doubt quite right. However, one ought to take the trouble to learn the facts first. Professor Geremek in his interview for BILD AM SONNTAG said the following: "Question: Should Germany be united again? Or do you fear it? Answer: I am a member of a nation that was deprived of its independence and its own state for a very long time. However, I am of the opinion that the Germans should be united again. This is a matter for the German people. I believe that a free Europe will provide a solution to the German question. However, it has to be absolutely clear that a united Germany must not be a threat to any other country. But yes, I say that Germany has a right to reunification."

This is the crux of the matter: the right to reunification. Professor Geremek rightly stated that the future shape of Germany is dependent on the Germans themselves, as it is dependent on the situation in Europe. This is not only a moral point. Polish raison d'etat demands accepting the right of Germans to reunification; a right to the same thing that Poles want for themselves, namely, the right to one's own state. The abnormal situation of the German people casts a long shadow on every aspect of Polish-German relations. If we want to achieve a breakthrough in our relations, then the Germans must be cognizant of the fact that the Poles are no longer interested in the perpetuation of the Stalinist order in the GDR. Moreover, the de-Stalinization of the GDR lies in the Polish national interest.

I have no idea what Leszek Miller was thinking when he uttered the words "uncritically supporting" the national movements in the Baltic republics and in the Ukraine. One has either grasped the complexity of the processes taking place in the Soviet republics, or if one has not, one should remain discrete in one's opinions. I went to the Ukraine and participated in the congress of the "Movement". At the congress I heard words that are diametrically opposed to those used by Leszek Miller who is merely repeating the comments of the PRAVDA journalists. After many years of terror and subjugation, the Ukrainian nation is attempting to return to a free life. This great nation; a nation that is our neighbor, has now risen from its knees. This by its very fact produces a new situation that demands a Polish-Ukrainian dialogue and not the constant repetition of Brezhnev's formulas about "Ukrainian nationalism."

Similarly, only the commencement of a Polish-Lithuanian dialogue can solve the equally difficult Polish-Lithuanian problems. This fact is not an expression of anti-Russian sentiment, but is a statement against the totalitarian option. I have often written on these pages that Moscow's impulses for transformation have a fundamental and positive significance for Poland. A well

thought out response to what is happening in Lithuania and the Ukraine is the best way to reply to these impulses.

Leszek Miller's thinking is still laboring under the weight of Brezhnev's categories of thinking. Miller believes in the inviolability of a particular order that was only kept in place by force during the time of Stalin, and later, Brezhnev. The perpetuation of this old order will require an escalating effort of force. Only in this way will it be possible to keep the Stalinist political climate in the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Only in this way will it be possible to force Lithuania and Ukraine back into impotency again. Use of such force will spell disaster for the democratic changes taking place in our countries.

In Moscow, the pressing question of the day is how to re-cement relations between nations within the federal parameters.

We need to free our thinking from pro-Russian servilism as well as from the nationalistic straitjacket. Only the acceptance of the fact that the world has indeed changed can deserve to be called prudent thinking.

Inaugural Kiev Perestroyka Congress Reported

AU2009104589 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 14 Sep p 6

[Jerzy Jachowicz report: "Three Days of Freedom"]

[Text] Last Sunday in Kiev, the inaugural congress of the National Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka, ended its proceedings. The congress took place in an exceptional atmosphere and was a great manifestation of national rebirth.

Ivan Drach, the well known Ukrainian poet was elected chairman of the movement. Sergey Koniyev, a Russian by birth, and deputy to the Supreme Soviet, was elected deputy chairman. Michail Horyn, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association and past political prisoner, was elected secretary-general of the movement.

Among the invited guests there was also a group of Polish parliamentary deputies, namely, Zbigniew Jonas, Adam Michnik, Wlodzimierz Mokry, Franciszek Sak (deputy from the Koszalin Voivodship which has over 30,000 Ukrainians), and Bogdan Borusiewicz, chairman of the Gdansk region "Solidarity". Adam Michnik and Wlodzimierz Mokry were the spokesmen for the Polish group.

For 3 days, countless yellow and blue flags garlanded the congress hall and the square outside the building. Samizdat publications were sold openly in the entrance hall. Thanks to the loudspeakers placed around the vast square of the Kiev Polytechnic, many thousands of sympathizers were able to listen to the course of proceedings.

Many statements that not so long ago would have meant certain prison sentences and possible exile, were made quite publicly during the proceedings. Many voices called for the removal of Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and Shevchenko, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine.

The statement made by Dilen Mitrosyan, a deputy of the Supreme Soviet and commander of a signals regiment stationed in Rovno, made a great impact on all the assembled delegates. "Apart from me there are many other commanders and officers who would never give the order to fire at the citizens of our country. I promise that as long as I remain commander, none of my soldiers will fire at the mothers and brothers of his own nation" he proclaimed. After these words the whole congress hall erupted with the chant: "Unity, Unity, Unity."

The debates were fierce. This was especially true of two issues concerning the national symbols of the Ukraine and the possible political status of the future Ukraine. The supporters of a more radical approach proposed that an application should be made to the highest authorities for the use of the blue and yellow flag as the national flag of the Ukraine. They argued very strongly in favor of Ukrainian sovereignty; both political and economic. It was finally agreed that new talks should be suggested to Moscow which would concern the aspect of federation.

"We call for a sovereign Ukraine that will remain within the Soviet federation; a federation which will be organized on the basis of a unitary agreement. The parties to this agreement must be independent Soviet republics" proclaims the congress declaration.

After the close of discussions, a demonstration was held later that evening under the statue of Taras Shevchenko. Several thousand people, including several hundred congress participants, assembled around the statue. When the Polish delegation arrived carrying the Polish national flag emblazoned with the word "Solidarity" on it, cries of "Long live independent Ukraine" went up, and mingled with the cries of "Long live Poland."

Minister Comments on Poland's CEMA Trade

AU2009075589 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 14 Sep pp 4, 5

[Interview with Marcin Swiecicki, newly appointed minister of foreign economic cooperation, by D. Zagrodzka: "In CEMA Everyone Thinks That They Are Subsidizing the Others"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Zagrodzka] In your hearing before the Sejm commission you said that you would make public a report on the state of trade between the Soviet Union and Poland. Does such a report already exist?

[Swiecicki] No, not yet. Such a report should be prepared by independent economists. It has to contain facts which not only reflect the present day situation, but also give a

true historical perspective. I consider that the publication of such a report in a language which will be understandable to the man in the street is absolutely necessary.

[Zagrodzka] Without doubt, but in Poland many people remain convinced that this trade is, to put it mildly, rather unfavorable to us.

[Swiecicki] In CEMA, everyone is convinced that they are subsidizing the other members. Even the Soviet Union thinks this. One could say that we sell for next to nothing and we are paid next to nothing, because the system of exchange rates is absurd. If we were to convert these figures into dollars I am sure that figures would show that we do come out badly in this trade.

[Zagrodzka] The British journal THE ECONOMIST once stated that we came out extremely badly. However, nobody in the West would want to buy our outdated machinery for hard dollars, and thus we would not have anything to purchase oil with, which we now get by paying rubles.

[Swiecicki] This is what we have to verify and make widely known. This is a important condition for our good relations with the general public. One thing is clear, namely, that we must abandon progressively agreements we have with individual governments and establish freer trade contacts with various individual enterprises.

[Zagrodzka] What is to happen to the long-term agreeements that Poland has with the Soviet Union?

[Swiecicki] These agreements are about to expire. Thus, we can begin anew.

[Zagrodzka] You also mentioned that Polish exports of machinery to the West are several times less than, for example, those of Malaysia. Even if we were to make a comparison with CEMA countries our level of exports in this sphere is the smallest per capita of population. At the same time, however, the Poles maintain that there is nothing left in Poland because everything is taken out of the country. How do you explain this?

[Swiecicki] The lack of balance in the internal market always gives rise to the suspicion that either one is hoarding goods somewhere in our warehouses, or alternately, everything is being exported abroad. The answer, quite simply, is that there are too few goods being produced. Without exports our economy will simply grind to a halt. It is already working at half steam, because we are unable to purchase raw materials, or spare parts, and we badly lack modern machinery. Additionally, there is a dearth of imported goods in our home market. If we were to stop exporting we would finish off our economy completely. Exports that are remunerative will also have a beneficial effect on our home the market.

[Zagrodzka] Do we have any opportunities to secure such exports?

[Swiecicki] An EEC delegation is due to arrive in Poland in the next couple of days, in order to sign agreements which concern customs duties, and to agree on quotas for our products which are sold in the European Economic Community. This is a good start. We hope to see other ministers here soon. The opportunities and chances are thus beginning to materialize.

[Zagrodzka] How can we best exploit such opportunities?

[Swiecicki] The economic market balance, which we have to reestablish, will force enterprises to export, on the condition, of course, that currency exchange rates are normalized. Abolishing monopolies should also help our trade. At the moment the process of abolishing monopolies is still very much only on paper. Additionally, we have to reduce bureaucratic red-tape, and enable foreign capital to flow into Poland. Our outdated telecommunication sector is costing us hundreds of millions of dollars through lost opportunities. This has to be changed, and very rapidly. Finally, the promotion and advancement of able professionals to the various—one has to say it—attractive career positions in foreign trade should be done wholly on an objective basis, and on the basis of professionally verifiable guidelines.

[Zagrodzka] The core of the economic team in the new government comes from the opposition side. You are from the Polish United Workers Party. Do you not fear that there might be difficulties in cooperation? Are you not scared by the task that confronts you?

[Swiecicki] No. In fact it fascinates me. I do not foresee any difficulties from my government colleagues. I have been a supporter of radical reforms for several years now, including privatization. I do not perceive too many programmatic differences. The problem is how to bring about the implementation of these rather liberal-theoretical principles. Here, I think I could be useful. I am for rational privatization; a privatization that is carried through under social controls. However, one has to give a chance to all those self-governing units who want to be able to compete in a fully competitive situation. In general, I think we now have to act in a totally radical way, and not proceed blindly.

Israeli Representative on Shamir's Comments

AU2009134289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 15-17 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Mordecai D. Palzur, chief of Israeli interests in Poland, by D. Zagrodzka: "After Shamir's Comments"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Zagrodzka] The Polish and the world press has been full of comment relating to Premier Shamir's statement that "Poles suckle anti-Semitism with their mother's milk." This generalization is extremely unjust, as well as being untruthful. Do you have any further comments to make?

[Palzur] I believe that one has to separate Shamir the politician from Shamir the man. His personal history is closely tied to Poland and to a fact from the past that is little known. Shamir's father stayed in Poland, and during the war he escaped from the train that was taking him to a death camp. He sought shelter in the village where he was born and grew up. When he arrived there his Polish childhood acquaintances killed him.

[Zagrodzka] This tragic event could explain the relationship to Poles that Shamir feels as a person, but not as a politician?

[Palzur] I have not talked with him on this subject, and what I have said is my own interpretation. I can assure you that as a statesman, he has a special relationship with Poland, and he is the prime mover behind the present rapprochement between Israel and Poland. Each time I return from Poland, the premier asks me to personally tell him about the current situation in Poland. He then talks often and at length recalling his youth in Poland. When I sent him Professor Balaban's recently published history of the Polish Jews he was clearly moved—all the more so, as Professor Balaban was on the graduation committee in the Bialystok high school that Shamir attended. As a politician, he is very interested in the normalization of relations with Poland, and I know that were he to receive an invitation to visit Poland, he would gladly accept.

[Zagrodzka] Do you not consider, however, that such statements can only harm the relationship between our two cuntries?

[Palzur] I hope they will not do so. I know that his comments have deeply hurt many Poles. They told me so, and they criticized his statement, just as they were highly critical of some of the Polish replies to his comments. Nevertheless, emotions should not—although it is impossible to deny facts. [sentence as published] We have to remember that our common history goes back about 1,000 years and has involved millions of people. There have been always been good and bad people on both sides.

Personally, I am against all generalizations. A few minutes before your arrival here, we held a small ceremony in this very room. In the presence of all my staff I bestowed honorary citizenship of Israel on Tadeusz Soroka, who saved the lives of nine Jews during the war.

Today we have to think of the future. There are many similarities between our two countries. There are about 500,000 Jews from Poland who are now living in Israel. They come to Poland to seek their roots. Our countries have a lot to offer each other.

Poland To Seek Japanese Automaker's Cooperation

OW2009143589 Tokyo KYODO in English 0729 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20 KYODO—The Polish state-run automobile corporation, FSO, plans to start producing passenger cars with technological cooperation from Japan's Daihatsu Motor Co., an informed source in Warsaw said on Tuesday.

Under its automobile modernization plan, the FSO (Fabryka Samochodow Osbowych) hopes to manufacture diesel-powered 1,600-cc passenger cars with Daihatsu's latest technology, the sources said.

If the plan is approved by an FSO council meeting of workers on September 28, the corporation will send its representatives to Japan to start negotiations with with Daihatsu, the source said.

Industrial development has become a key aim for the new noncommunist government under Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in order to obtain foreign currencies, and the planned tie-up with Daihatsu Motor is regarded here as one of major modernization projects, the sources said.

The Osaka-based Japanese automaker has once sought business in Poland jointly with three Japanese trading firms of C. Itoh and Co., Mitsui and Co. and Sumitomo Corp.

But the plan failed since the Japanese Government did not approve an application of export insurance because of Poland's financial woes.

The source here expressed hope that the Tokyo government would be flexible this time on the export insurance application and other related matters over the FSO project under the new noncommunist government which was formally inaugurated on September 12.

Another Japanese automaker, Suzuki Motor Co., is also seeking business in Hungary jointly with C. Itoh and Co.

Daihatsu Motor officials welcomed the report from Warsaw, though they said the company has received no contact yet from the FSO on the new decision, according to reports from Osaka.

The automaker would positively study the FSO's project, when a formal request from the Polish Government reaches, Daihatsu officials said.

Daihatsu officials predicted a main problem would be how to finance the Polish project. Poland had earlier asked the Japanese side to finance the total cost for the project, worth about 100 billion yen, they said.

Under the new plan, Daihatsu would request the Japanese Government to cooperate on investment and loans to Poland, the officials said.

Daihatsu had considered its 1,300-cc charade passenger cars for the project in Poland, but the Polish side reportedly prefers diesel-powered, 1,600-cc passenger cars, they said.

Jaruzelski Addresses CSCE Journalists

AU2109072389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Sep 89 p 3

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic, at the Third International Conference of CSCE Country Journalists at Warsaw Castle on 17 September]

[Text] Thank you for the invitation to take part in this conference. Its main theme, "from confrontation to cooperation," is in harmony with the processes that are currently taking place in Europe and with what is taking place in our country. It is sometimes said that journalists work in "the frontline of events." This meeting shows that they are also in the main current of history.

This conference coincides with events to mark the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. It is very necessary for mankind to remember the war, its origins, course, and effects. We still have to remain vigilant.

It is not a question of opening wounds. There has been peace on our continent for a period that is twice as long as that between World War I and World War II. The peaceful European order that arose almost half a century ago has stood the test of time.

As a nation and a state we have made an important contribution to the maintenance of European peace and security. I would like to remind you that it was Poland that submitted the first proposal to convene a European conference at the United Nations General Assembly in 1964.

We have participated in creating and are creating conditions for a peaceful future for the continent through formulating plans for a nuclear-free zone in Europe and, quite recently, for a reduction in nuclear and conventional capabilities at the point of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, while increasing confidence and reorienting military doctrine toward a purely defensive character.

More than 20 years ago, the outstanding Belgian statesman Pierre Harmel put forward the idea that peace would be guaranteed by maintaining weaponry at the level that is essential for defense purposes, while simultaneously stepping up an East-West dialogue leading to reductions in military capabilities. Today, that idea, which has been enriched by many related concepts, has acquired recognition in the form of the CSCE Final Act.

This has become possible thanks to the numerous initiatives put forward by Warsaw Pact and NATO states, as well as by the neutral European countries. As result, "the balance of terror" doctrine is gradually being replaced by a vision of good-neighborly relations and mutual recognition of security requirements.

However, that only represents having traveled half the road. The surmounting of confrontation as a way of thinking about relations between states and peoples is not an easy task and calls for constant efforts.

Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking" and bold initiatives, as well as the abandonment of crude stereotypes by Western governments have given the CSCE process a new impetus. Weapons reductions and even disarmament are ceasing to be concepts that belong to futurology.

Almost 3 years ago in Vienna, when we decided to hold the third journalists' conference in Warsaw, the idea of "abandoning confrontation" almost had a pioneering quality about it. Today, according to the research findings of scholars at Warsaw University, the threat of armed confrontation is ceasing to be one of the public's main fears, and it is being treated in increasingly milder and less emotional terms by the mass media.

A feeling of a common historical fate is gradually gaining currency among the community on our continent, as well as among the non-European signatories of the CSCE Final Act.

So, conditions are ripening for a further fundamental step forward. The transition from a state of affairs that envisages the possibility of confrontation to one in which the highest and enduring principle will be that of comprehensive, mutually advantageous cooperation is a process that calls for patience, objectivity, good will, and a capacity for foresight.

In his writings, Tadeusz Kotarbinski, the outstanding Polish philosopher and creator of praxeology, stressed that the object of human activity should be the avoidance of confrontation. That is why it is necessary to anticipate the circumstances under which confrontation may occur and to act appropriately before it becomes fact. The desire and capacity to see ahead applies in equal measure to relations between people and to relations between social groups, states, and nations.

Journalists are a professional group that is particularly predestined to perform a role of precisely this kind. I would consider this to be a moral duty that even extends beyond the sphere of personal views.

A new information infrastructure is emerging before our very eyes. The flow of information has never before been so free and all-embracing. The enormous satellite television networks and modern forms of communication have given people a feeling of genuine participation in international life. This places a particular responsibility on the "European communications community."

The age of inexpensive solutions and convenient simplifications is drawing to a close. The disparities in social

and industrial development stemming from history are not confined solely to this or that political and geographical region.

For the first time, there is a growing awareness of problems that really affect all of Europe, such as the threat to the natural environment, which can only be solved by way of joint efforts.

The building of a common European home is primarily a question of more mutual familiarity and greater confidence. This is the only way in which it will be possible to create a system of values that will accord priority to what is common to all of us, while preserving the national and cultural identities of all our peoples.

Wars are not won with words. However, words can make prospects of war increase or recede. Journalists have created gulfs more than once in the past, but they have contributed to the "building of bridges" to an even greater extent. The mass media have played an important role in promoting progress in the Helsinki process. This provides a good illustration of the share of responsibility borne by journalists for the further course of European history. Wars, as the famous preamble of the UNESCO Charter states, are primarily born in people's minds.

Discussions about an international professional code for journalists have been going on for many decades. Some view this as a kind of muzzle that curbs freedom of expression, while others view it as the abandonment of their ideological commitments.

I am not competent to discuss this issue and to give lessons even less so. However, I think that the creation of a kind of "code of chivalry" for journalists that would emanate a moral force and contribute to the fostering of a new political culture of tolerance among the great human family represents a great task for your community.

During my many meetings with foreign politicians and journalists, I have tired to stress the great importance of external conditions for the rate and scope of change in Poland. We do not live in a vacuum. What is happening in Poland and what is happening outside Poland form a powerful two-way process.

It is no coincidence that our changes could be accelerated at a time that saw the spirit of dialogue, detente, and increased confidence being welcomed on the European scene. So we are vitally interested in the maintenance of these trends in international relations. This is something that resides in the very essence of our national interests.

Assessments of the most difficult decisions that we have had to make have differed and they continue to differ. However, what is of key importance is that today's Poland is a country in which there are no taboo subjects and in which we are building a future based on democracy, pluralism, openness, and the supremacy of the law.

It is an honor for us that the Third International Conference of CSCE Country Journalists is taking place in Poland, in a city that was almost completely wiped off the face of the earth on the orders of the Nazi barbarian. Just 50 years ago, the place in which this meeting is being held was one of busiest and most densely populated districts of Warsaw. After that, it became nothing but a desert of rubble.

Bear this in mind during your discussions. A meeting in the heart of "Europe's Hiroshima" imposes certain obligations.

I believe that your conference will deliver a valuable message of peace to the world. With this thought in mind, I wish you fruitful and useful deliberations.

Rakowski Visits Scene of Dispute With Solidarity

LD2009180289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] For over 2 weeks the situation in the Kazimierz-Juliusz coalmine in Sosnowiec has been going from bad to worse. A conflict has arisen between the local Solidarity and the local party organization. A petition has been organized to get the party out of the work enterprise. Last Tuesday the situation got so bad that the office of the works Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] committee was sealed. Today, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, arrived at the Kazimierz-Juliusz mine in Sosnowiec.

People will say that Rakowski came to rescue the works committee at the Kazimierz-Juliusz mine in Sosnowiec, and this no doubt will be said in cafes. In reality the situation is much more serious, isn't it?

[Begin Rakowski recording] Maybe it's very serious, or even worse, but I came not to rescue the works committee but to demonstrate my solidarity with the party comrades, with my comrades at work and struggle here at this mine. This was the purpose of my arrival. I said at the meeting that I have no prescription for the solution of this problem, but nevertheless I am resolutely against resumption of those divisions which divided the work forces in 1981. This is a classic example of dividing the work force and inserting a wedge between the two groups.

I must confess frankly that I was convinced that once the Mazowiecki government was formed, after the Roundtable decisions and elections, this chapter of our said history was closed. We represent the following view: no kind of party work is eternal, it must not be treated dogmatically and separated from the needs and the development of the con: mporary political and social conditions, but on the other hand we are of the opinion that so long as no clarity as regards the role of political parties in work enterprises the status quo ought to be maintained, because it is not the party organizations that

are proposing strikes and they are not the force that introduces disorder into work enterprises. [end recording]

Staff Colonel on Army Personnel Cuts

AU2009170889 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16-17 Sep 89 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Colonel Jerzy Prymakowski of the Polish Army General Staff by Colonel Andrzej Medykowski: "22,000 Soldiers Less—What Does That Mean?"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Medykowski] During the recent hearings by Sejm commissions, General Florian Siwicki [minister of national defense] said that a reduction in the size of our Armed Forces by 22,000 full-time posts is expected by the end of the year.

[Prymakowski] That is in addition to the reduction of 11,000 full-time posts made in the first half of the year.

[Medykowski] Can you give examples of these cuts?

[Prymakowski] Two mechanized divisions, the 2nd and the 25th, have been turned into material and technical bases, involving personnel "savings" of 4,000.

[Medykowski] That is not much of a saving.

[Prymakowski] These divisions were at low cadres strength, in other words not more than 25 percent of their personnel was in active service.

[Medykowski] That still leaves 7,000 men in the first half of the year to be accounted for.

[Prymakowski] Because of the conversion of mechanized divisions to purely peaceful purposes, in accordance with the present doctrine, five tank regiments have been almost completely disbanded—the 11th Tank Regiment in Gizyck, the 13th in Opole, the 15th in Gliwice, the 35th in Ostroga, and the 60th in Elblag.

The Third Anti-Chemical Warfare Regiment in Biskupiec has already been turned into a training base. The 66th Air Training Squadron in Tomaszow Mazowiecki has already been disbanded, and many air defense and naval units are also being disbanded.

[Medykowski] One sees fewer and fewer soldiers with navy blue flashes on their uniforms.

[Prymakowski] Indeed. The Internal Defense Forces are being disbanded and turned into units of a protective nature, meant to protect sensitive state buildings and economic facilities. For example, the 1st Internal Defense Brigade in Gora Kalwaria has been turned into the Stefan Zbikowski 1st Protection Regiment, the 5th Internal Defense Brigade in Krakow has been turned into the 5th Krakow Regiment of Mountain Rifles, and the 14th Internal Defense Brigade in Olsztyn has been turned into the General Boleslaw Kieniewicz 14th Protection Regiment. The 13th Internal Defense Regiment in Gdansk and the 15th Internal Defense Regiment in Prudnik have been disbanded altogether.

[Medykowski] From the figures given by the national defense minister, it seems that our Armed Forces will lose 100 percent more men in the second half of this year than they did in the first half.

[Prymakowski] That is correct. Further units are being disbanded. But in many cases, this is the continuation of a process that started in the first half of the year. The most important undertakings are the conversion of the 10th Armored Division in Opole and 16th Armored Division in Elblag into units that serve a peaceful purpose, whereby their cadre strength will be reduced to 20 percent, resulting in a reduction of over 9,000 soldiers. At the same time, the Tadeusz Kosciuszko 1st Warsaw Mechanized Division, which will remain at full cadre strength, will be restructured. In turn, the 7th Coastal Defense Brigade, the popular "blue berets," is being thoroughly reorganized. It is being restructured, and hence the number of soldiers in it will fall by over 1,000.

[Medykowski] Other branches of the Armed Forces will no doubt also be altered?

[Prymakowski] The Sixth Motorized Regiment in Ostroga is being disbanded, and a training base is emerging in its place. The number of personnel is being reduced in many rocket, artillery, communications, chemical warfare, supply, and technical units. The crews of 27 ships and support vessels, including landing craft, minesweepers, and missile ships, are being dismissed.

[Medykowski] What about the "Third Dimension"?

[Prymakowski] Major changes will take place to the Air Force and to the National Air Defense. In accordance with the national defense minister's orders, both these branches will be merged into an Air and Air Defense Force. The merger has already begun, and its completion is scheduled for next year.

However, the number of combat aircraft will be reduced by 80 this year, 1 year earlier than planned. Therefore the number of pilots and ground staff will also fall by a corresponding amount. It should be stressed that this will cause considerable savings in fuel. This is of great importance in the country's present economic situation.

[Medykowski] So far we have done nothing but cite dry figures and names of units and places, yet people's livelihoods are at stake.

[Prymakowski] It has to be admitted that such major personnel reductions in such a short time cause many problems, not just military ones, but purely humanitarian ones as well. Specific ways of solving them have been adopted, and, to put it briefly, those professional cadres with the proper knowledge will be used to fill vacancies in other units; others will undergo retraining in order to occupy other posts; and the remainder will be transferred to the reserve. More detailed information

about problems with cadres and the use of military equipment and premises is available from the relevant experts in other institutions. May I point out that cadre problems have already been discussed in the press by the deputy chief of the Cadres Department.

[Medykowski] The number of units and soldiers in our Armed Forces is decreasing. To what extent are central institutions of the Ministry of National Defense affected?

[Prymakowski] The Polish Army General Staff and the relevant institutions are preparing a concept of structural changes. Considerable changes to organization are envisaged, with a simultaneous reduction in the size of these institutions by over 10 percent. Concrete proposals will shortly be presented to the minister of national defense.

[Medykowski] It may come as a surprise to many of our readers that an officer on the Polish Army General Staff is revealing the names of so many units and so much information on our Armed Forces.

[Prymakowski] This is a planned and premeditated process. Not only have the names of many units been revealed, but also their location.

I would also like to say that in accordance with a decision by the chief of the Polish Army General Staff, the Main Statistical Office will present regular information on the Armed Forces, including their size.

French Daily Interviews OPZZ' Miodowicz

PM2009151089 Paris LE MONDE in French 9 Sep 89 p 4

[Sylvie Kauffman report on interview with National Trade Union Confederation President Alfred Miodowicz 6 September; place not given]

[Text] Warsaw—There is at least one Polish politician at the moment who dares to say that the new government's composition "does not interest" him: Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation (OPZZ), who resigned from the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Politburo in July but is still a Central Committee member and regarded as one of the party's "hard-liners." "I regret that the PZPR is taking part in these transactions," he told us Wednesday 6 September, while Mr Mazowiecki was slowly negotiating the final ministerial posts with communist leaders. "The party should have accepted its defeat with dignity and transferred to the opposition without claiming a single post."

The major loser in the new political situation of the past 6 months in Poland, Alfred Miodowicz, who almost overturned the roundtable the very day it officially ended, on 5 April, now sounds desperate. "From the outset," he said, "this government will encounter such difficulties that nobody will be able to sustain it—neither we, nor Lech Walesa, nor the church. The 6-month moratorium on strikes proposed by Walesa is unrealistic. Of course we will support strikes."

Another Pilsudski

Some people within Solidarity judge this desperate man dangerous at this time of great economic hardship, even though the 7 million members generously claimed by the OPZZ—established in 1982 under martial law—are doubtless unwilling to follow him en bloc. According to one Solidarity deputy, "he knows, however, that he OPZZ is finished and he will be seeking a political solution. That is where he can be dangerous." One reformist communist leader did not hesitate to say of him that he "wants to portray himself as a messiah."

For the time being Alfred Miodowicz, 60, is acting the prophet of doom: "Everything will be determined in the streets, not in the strikes. This is the situation. If the Solidarity government calls in the zomos (police units responsible for maintaining order—LE MONDE editor's note) against the workers, it will mean a failure, and that is exactly the way things are moving. That is, unless something extraordinary happens—I am talking not about western aid, which is no more than a utopia for us, because we will absorb it immediately; that is the way our economy is designed—but, rather, about the strengthening of the party's authority by a single man." Which man? A kind of modern Pilsudski? "Pilsudski was neither a democrat nor a liberal, but he was someone who had authority... Perhaps we will find someone." According to Miodowicz, it will not be from among the present leaders, whom he clearly does not hold in high esteem. Among other things, he blames the "party's ruling elite" for the June election disaster.

As for Solidarity, it is a "super-party" that hardly concerns itself with the defense of workers' rights. "We must now shed the insulting label of government trade union and attach it to Solidarity," he said.

Alfred Miodowicz is alleged to want to lead a party comprising the "real" communists in the event of a split within the PZPR. He himself does not openly admit any such intentions. But, he said, the PZPR must be "a left-wing party that rallies together the entire Polish Left. If it is impossible for there to be only one party, then let there be two or three: The Left will not lose as a result."

PZPR Theorist Regains Party Membership

LD2009221689 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—The Presidium of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party], guided by the resolution of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum, examined the decision on expelling Professor Adam Schaff from the party made by the former PUWP Central Party Control Commission on June 27, 1984.

After making a comprehensive and thorough analysis of the case and getting acquainted with recent publications and speeches by Schaff and confronting them with charges brought against him by the then Control Commission in 1984, the Presidium of the Central Control and Audit Commission resolved to annul the resolution and to restore PUWP membership rights to Schaff and to include the years 1984-1989 into his membership period.

While making this decision, the Presidium of the Commission assessed that Schaff's expulsion violated the PUWP members' freedom of discussion, dispute and criticism concerning in particular the ways and methods of building socialism in Poland.

Schaff's attitude is a proof of his unbroken ties with the left-wing movement and his support for PUWP's policy of renewal, the commission's statement said.

Kuron Interviewed on Gas Price Increase

LD2009214789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Interview with Jacek Kuron, minister of labor and social policy, by unidentified correspondent, 20 September, place not given—live or recorded; no video available]

[Text] [Correspondent] We were taken by surprise today by the fairly considerable increase in the price of gas. Minister, the city is saying that this price increase has something to do with your television statement yesterday, maybe. Is this true?

[Kuron] Of course it isn't. As minister of labor, I have no influence over any price. As a member of the government, well, the government today has a certain influence over a very limited number of prices. The price of gas is not one of them. The price of gas is fixed by central petroleum industry agency. It is called a negotiated price and the snag here is that we are dealing with a monopoly, which fixes prices. That is not a good thing, but nonetheless the government should not control prices, in any event. Our life depends on prices and wages, it's true.

I hope we will be talking again. We can only have some sort of influence as a society on our life as a whole when we create, when we organize ourselves to do so. Prices depend on the market, but as I said, we have to talk about this at more length. I apologize profoundly for coming to you every day, ladies and gentlemen, and with such difficult matters too, but our life isn't easy.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Minister.

[Kuron] Thank you. [Warsaw PAP in English at 1745 GMT 20 September reports that the price of diesel fuel increased by 60 percent today]

Walesa Meets With UPP Chairman Ludwiczak

LD1909204889 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 19: A meeting between Lech Walesa and the United Peasant Party Chairman Dominik Ludwiczak was held in the "Solidarnosc" office here today.

The "Solidarnosc" Press Bureau's communique on the meeting conveyed to PAP states:

"The sides expressed their conviction that cooperation of the coalition that formed the government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki will be characterized by independence of individual partners and at the same time by a common feeling of responsibility for pulling Poland out of crisis.

"The two pointed to the necessity to strengthen public support for the programme of government's activity in order to stop disintegration of the economic and social systems.

"Both interlocutors agreed that agriculture and food economy should be one of the decisive factors in overcoming crisis and balancing economy."

Following the meeting Lech Walesa said in part:

"After today's talk I hope to hold a longer one in Warsaw and that one will bring more effects. But it does not mean that we will not allow to form other groups in a pluralistic way. We are interested in pluralism existing in Poland.

"Many people have begun reforms and they want to reform. We are to create possibilities (for that), through the coalition, through other solutions. We have started coalition dialogue, but opening of the door is not the same as filling with content. Now we have to build.

Said Dominik Ludwiczak: "We met to make this coalition reliable, to make it serve the motherland. Political issues have gone far in Poland, the economic ones not so far. But in order to start economic issues, political ones must be strengthened. As we have started, we are bound to continue.

"We do not intend to go back to imposing things on people as it used to be. At the bottom. There were no great disputes between UPP [United Peasant Party] and PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] members. Things were spoiled by the apparatus acting in the Stalinist way. I think that if the PUWP attitude changes, we are open for cooperation."

Moczulski Outlines Goals of KPN

AU2009162089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Sep p 6

[Statement by Leszek Moczulski, leader of the KPN: "Successive Embodiment"]

[Text] We are the successors to the independence movement that has existed in Poland ever since the time of the Confederation of Bar in the late 18th century. We also represent a part of that movement which is referred to as the Pilsudski movement. During the last war, the Pilsudski movement formed itself into two distinct organizations, namely, the Convention of Independence Organizations and the Camp of Fighting Poland [SNN]. These two organizations joined together after 1945 to form the Party for National Independence. The Confederation for An Independent Poland [KPN] is the direct continuation of the SNN. This continuation is both in political-program terms, as well as in terms of organization and personnel.

The Confederation was called into existence for one great aim only, namely, to remove foreign hegemony with all its internal and external instruments, and to create an independent and democratic Polish state, referred to us as the "Third Republic," in place of the Polish People's Republic. Although we consider independence to be our highest aim, we are ready to use all ideological and political weapons toward its attainment. This is in accordance with the Pilsudski ideology, encapsulated in the following words: "Action without ideology."

In general, our political position can be described as right of center. We attach great weight to tradition and morality. We draw inspiration from Christian social teaching. We are supporters of a free-market economy based on personal property. Although our primary aim is the reconstitution of an independent, strong, and efficiently governed state, one of our aims is to limit state interference and to substitute self-government of citizens in certain areas. These features are common to all movements of the right. Our program also has elements typical to left-wing groupings. We consider human rights and the freedom of the citizen as crucial. We are striving to develop democratic institutions and practices, mutual tolerance, care for social justice, and protection of the rights of national minorities.

Nationalism and chauvinism of any type are alien to us. We oppose any ideology that uses slogans of class or race struggle, of national domination, and contempt for other nations. We see the need for a new political organization for the whole of our part of Europe, as the societies that live here regain their rights to decide their own affairs.

In the political spectrum of the contemporary opposition, we are definitely to the right of the Polish Socialist Party and definitely to the left of the Labor Party. We are far more radical then the political tendencies prevailing in the Citizens Committee, but decidedly less radical than those prevailing in "Fighting Solidarity." We try to balance the practicality of political action with the maximum achievable aims. We are far from the situation where the whole of our political line can be subordinated to short-term tactical demands, but our steadfast persistence in trying to achieve our great aims is also accompanied by the desire for realistic political solutions, which in turn, enable us to successfully solve the tasks that are next in line.

Leszek Moczulski.

Torun Transport Workers End Strike

LD2009203489 Warsaw PAP in English 1857 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Torun, Sept. 20—Following mediation of the Torun voivod and leader of the regional "Solidarnosc", workers of the local trade transport enterprise ended their sit-in strike here today.

"We expressed disapproval for the form of the undertaken action, but we considered the voiced postulates as right," said leader of the regional "Solidarnosc" Antoni Stawikowski.

PAX Daily Examines Polish Nuclear Project

AU2109075989 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18 Sep 89 p 3

[Rafal Jablonski article: "Clouds Over Lake Zarnowiec"]

[Text] When the construction of the nuclear power station on Lake Zarnowiec began in 1982, no one imagined the fortunes of this project would be so varied. Zarnowiec, as this project is popularly called, has divided society and engulfed enormous sums of money. For a time, the opponents of this project were victorious when the funds for it were suddenly withheld. But then a Council of Ministers resolution reversed this decision. However, there is still no money for the project because the bank has not unfrozen the credits.

The way in which the decision to build Zarnowiec was taken was very far removed from the principles of openness and democracy. The decision was taken arbitrarily, without a thought for the opinions of the local population. However, this might have been forgotten were it not for the Chernobyl accident, which caused storm clouds to gather over Zarnowiec.

A group of people suddenly became active. Bandying about demagogic slogans and downright lies, they instilled fears of all sorts of plagues and calamities into the local population. Although this was all nonsense, the inhabitants, made gullible by the Chernobyl accident, believed every word. This was an understandable reaction against the arrogant conduct of the authorities and of experts of all kinds, who simply ignored the voice of society. The truth was distorted this way and that way, depending on one's parochial interests. If we remember that the local population had not the slightest idea about nuclear energy, we can understand their reaction when they read an article called "Zarnobyl" in the weekly MORZE [SEA].

And yet the country needed and still needs the electricity to be provided by this power station. Right now we have 32,000 megawatts at our disposal, which we have achieved thanks to an annual increase of 1,000 megawatts in the past. But during the past 5 years, the annual increase has only been half that amount. Situated as we are at the bottom of the league in terms of per capita electricity consumption, we have no hope of extricating ourselves from this void.

Now the void is all the more dangerous, because if any single component of our power generating system fails, we will feel the effects of a shortage of power, especially in winter. We all remember the electricity cuts at the end of the last decade. We can imagine what would happen in the event of an energy crisis if we look at Argentina, where the construction of new energy sources has been neglected to a surprising degree.

Two new power stations are to appear in Poland—a conventional one in Opole, due to be completed in 2 years time, and the other in Zarnowiec. Opole is to have a capacity of 2,000 megawatts, and Zarnowiec 1,860 megawatts.

We need the electricity to be provided by Zarnowiec, or else the entire energy situation may collapse in a few years time. We really have no alternative to completing Zarnowiec, for it would not be possible to build an alternative conventional power station in the same amount of time as it would take to complete Zarnowiec. Our energy system functions in a haphazard fashion, as it were. The only problem is that Zarnowiec is a nuclear power station. To make things worse, it is costly, unwanted, and delayed.

Apart from voicing hysteria, the opponents of Zarnowiec are citing an entire range of legitimate complaints about Zarnowiec. The chief complaint is that Zarnowiec is situated west of the Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot conurbation. As we know, about 80 percent of the wind in this area blows from the West. If a breakdown should occur, a radioactive cloud would only have to travel 20 km before it reached Gdynia. It is best not to think about what might happen then....

Indeed, it is a problem. However, a nuclear reactor will never explode like a nuclear bomb, because the laws of physics say it cannot, and the reactors to be used in Zarnowiec are meant to operate according to principles completely different to those governing the reactors in Chernobyl. So there is no danger of a Chernobyl-type breakdown.

But that is not enough to pacify people, for they are aware of the standard of workmanship in Poland. After all, not even the slabs in sidewalks are laid evenly. Those in favor of Zarnowiec claim that the work on Zarnowiec is of a standard that is unheard of in Poland, everything is meticulously controlled. However, the opponents refute these statements, rightly or wrongly accusing the contractors of covering up botches. It seems that an impartial judge is and will be a control mission from the International Atomic Energy Authority [IAEA], which it is difficult to accuse of bias; in the end, no one in Europe wants to end up with another "Chernobyl" on his hands. The next quality control of the construction of Zarnowiec will take place in September, and one can be sure that the IAEA will not cover up its findings.

However, there is yet another argument against Zarnowiec. Its opponents maintain that the building costs go far beyond the permissible limit (of which more later). Thus, it is difficult to say whether the Zarnowiec investment will be a boon or a bane.

When work on the power station started, the date of completion was set at 1993. All four energy blocks were to be ready by then, each one with a capacity of 465 megawatts. The opponents claim that this is not enough power for the money that has been spent on the project, and not everything about the project is state-of-the-art, but now that we have started and already spent so much money...

In terms of 1984 prices, Zarnowiec was supposed to cost Z155 billion. However, the economic crisis reduced the sum of money available for the project, as a result of which completion has been delayed. Even this year, subsidies for the project have been cut from Z85 billion to Z55 billion, whereas next year a subsidy of only Z13 billion is foreseen. These figures are all in terms of 1984 prices. Compare this to the Z155 billion envisaged cost of the project.

The shortage of money has caused and is still causing huge delays, and the schedules are not being adhered to. If all goes well, the first energy block will not become operational until 1994, and the second in 1995. It is difficult to say when the remaining two will become operational, because the second stage of the project has not even started yet, and the matter is further complicated by the existence of a hydroelectric power station also in Zarnowiec, with a capacity of 700 megawatts. So it is difficult to say what advantages a semicompleted project (only two energy blocks) will bring. Construction might even stop altogether, but not because of protests from ecologists and local residents, but because of a simple lack of money. Not only has outlay on the project been cut by Z30 billion, but the Bank of Gdansk has stopped the issue of credits for Zarnowiec.

Having encountered help from an unexpected quarter, the opponents have begun to celebrate—though a little prematurely, because the Council of Ministers resolution at the end of August ordered the bank to continue with the credits. But the Bank of Gdansk is only an agent in the transfer of money from the central budget to local budgets. Therefore, it has not unfrozen the credits, because it has no money. As a result, work is at a standstill.

Lech Hryckiewicz, director of Zarnowiec, told us that some 40 percent of the work is completed. However, many components have been ordered from Polish and domestic contractors that have to be paid for even if

construction is stopped, for the power station would lose every court case involving breach of contract. There is also the question of what essential work has to be performed whether or not the power station is ever completed, work essential for reasons of security and health, such as the filling in of shafts.

Director Hryckiewicz claims that the cost of the above work would add another 40 percent to the total cost of the project. The following financial question emerges: Is it worth spending an extra 20 percent of the foreseen construction costs and having a half-built power station with only two reactors, or should we squander the 80 percent of the costs that we have already spent and close down the project?

The new government has announced a firm struggle against inflation. As we know, this is impossible without a freeze or even discontinuation of some major capital investments. Zarnowiec certainly fits into this category. However, I do not envy those who have to make a decision. On the one hand, they will want to combat inflation and meet society's ecological demands halfway, and on the other hand they will want to avoid a situation like in Argentina, where the energy industry has collapsed for want of new electricity sources. One must remember that some of our power stations are old, some of them over 25 years old, and are in need of refitting. Where would the energy come from then? From abroad? How would we pay for it?

Clouds are gathering over Lake Zarnowiec. They are gathering over the supporters and opponents of this project.

'Full Sovereignty' Needed for Progress

AU2009162789 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 15-16-17 Sep p 5

[Michal Kolodziejczyk commentary: "Poland Was Not Even on This Piece of Paper"]

[Text] In September of each year, our thoughts often turn to contemplating our history, especially that part of our history which is intimately concerned with Poland's place on the European map. It is easy to understand how far our deliberations have shifted due to the recent process of openness and democracy. Following the period of cast-iron dogmas (not to be confused with the still obligatory canons of the Polish raison d'etat), we have now entered a period of polemics about and a reappraisal of the events of World War II and the history of postwar Europe. The rediscovery of all of the "secrets" tied to our historical processes is a much more salutary procedure for the national psyche than the alternative of sweeping them under the carpet.

The above principle is constantly being confirmed by the new light now being cast on the "blank spots" in Polish-Soviet relations; the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact; the mass and forced deportations from the eastern territories of the prewar Polish republic; Katyn; and finally, the brutal treatment meted out to Polish Home Army commanders after the end of the war.

Each new historical "sensation" begins to function deep in the subconscious of the nation, and at the same time starts providing ample justification for the direction of our recently initiated transformations. With the aid of these historical "sensations" we are "freeing" ourselves from the burden of what took place "as a result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact," or "as a result of the decisions made at Yalta," or "as a result of Stalin's order.s" or even as a result of "being abandoned by the West." However, we rarely draw the appropriate conclusions from these events for the future. We rarely stop to consider what it is that we must strive for if we do not wish to remain pawns in the hands of people who stand at the helm of other countries.

Full sovereignty is one of the goals that we have to achieve. Of much greater importance, however, is the quest to find our place in a lasting political arrangement of forces, an arrangement which will continue to function regardless of the internal transformations that are taking place in certain areas of its various links. The pact signed on 23 August 1939 has often been referred to as the "third partition of Poland." It resulted in the Red Army's "liberating advance" in a westerly direction in September 1939. This was just one more successive example that our history gives us of an unfavorable constellation of circumstances for Poland, namely, the convergence of Russian and German interests. It was a direct continuation of the policy of Frederick the Great and of the Empress Catherine, herself German by birth.

The Polish-Soviet war in 1919-1920 convinced the leaders of the fledgling Soviet Union of Poland's key role in any future plan that had the crushing of history's first socialist state as its aim. One must not forget that Stalin also fought in that particular war, serving in Semen Budyennyy's Army high command. Additionally, Stalin was always partial to poring over large maps, and every map will show that, in the geographical sense, Poland's position would be of strategic significance as the jumping-off point for any intended future aggression against the Soviet Union.

I am not trying to justify Stalin's actions. He systematically and mercilessly exploited the Red Army and the passivity of the Western Allies to establish his grip over the whole of Eastern Europe. We have to remember, however, that the arguments concerning security of borders had overwhelming social appeal, especially among the Russians. The feelings of other nations, of course, did not even come into play and were brutally ignored. Today, such an attitude would be impossible.

Who today can still remember Churchill's famous scrap of paper, on which (after a few drinks) in October 1944 he scrawled the names of various countries and next to each he added the suggested proportions of influence that would be exercised by the Soviet Union on the one

hand and by the "others" (here read: the other members of the great wartime coalition) on the other? Romania—90:10. Bulgaria—75:25. Hungary and Yugoslavia 50:50. Greece 10:90. Poland was not even on this scrap of paper. Its fate was to be decided at Yalta in February of the coming year. Also let us not forget that the famous Declaration on a Free Europe would also be adopted at Yalta. It was a very lofty sounding document, but in reality it was used by all concerned parties as an instrument for realizing their own political interests.

"Yalta means me," yelled Andrey Vyshinskiy, the Soviet procurator general, at King Michael of Romania when the king tried to point to the declaration. Vyshinskiy slammed the door so hard behind him that plaster fell from the highly ornate ceiling.

It would be highly provocative to ask any contemporary Romanian whether "Yalta" and "Nicolae Ceausescu" mean one and the same thing. I doubt whether the Moldavians, currently enraptured by the prospect of self-determination—after the issue of the introduction of Romanian as the official language—would put the question of unification with Romania next on their agenda by maintaining that the Hitlerite-Stalinist secret protocol was null and void from the word go. Present day historical interpretation consists of accepting the political realities and the collective expressions of national will, political realities that are freed from the straitjacket of past simplifications and resentments. This theory is no less devalued by the fact that at Yalta it was accepted that Poland constitutes an area of vital Soviet interests, and, as a result, Poland has had to coexist somehow with the Soviet Union, regardless of the past history of bitter resentments.

Yalta guaranteed us the possibility of calling a transitional government of national unity and free elections. I believe that we did not make sufficient use of these rights because of the fears that the people who were then in authority had for their own narrow vision of the future.

At that time, those people were at the stage of contemptuous idolatry and total subservience to Stalin. The well-known incident concerning the proposal made by some Poles to change the Polish national anthem serves as one illustration of the extent of the sycophancy of those grim days. The original anthem only survived because Stalin rather liked its melody.

Today, the Soviet Union is fully occupied with its own internal problems (many of which are the direct result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact), and we now feel sympathy toward it rather than feel terrorized by it. Nevertheless, for all realistically minded forces of our country, the Soviet Union still continues to be the guarantor of a security system, the likes of which we have never enjoyed in our 1,000-year history. In fact, the Soviet Union has transformed itself from the brake on reforms that it used to be into the driving force for internal reforms—reforms the scale of which has hitherto been unknown in the annals of socialism.

All of the above, when taken in conjunction with the currently ongoing process of natural devaluation of the so-called Brezhnev doctrine—a doctrine that postulated the use of the instrument of intervention in the internal affairs of the countries that wished to "deviate" from the generally accepted socialist line—only strengthens one's conviction that politics is above all the creation of individual people and the lessons of life itself force them to draw the appropriate lessons from history and to breathe fresh life into the old treaties and international agreements. Maintaining steadfastly that those agreements still continue to decide the life of millions of people who live between the Elbe River and the Bug River would, in our present conditions, be a gross misunderstanding, an admission that we still have not seized our destiny in our own hands and that we are still glancing over our shoulder instead of looking forward. Our future demands that we must finally overcome this way of thinking.

Ceausescu, Elena Visit Botosani County 17 Sep

AU1709161889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1535 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/9/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu, started a working visit in Botosani County, on September 17.

During the meetings of the RCP general secretary with working people in the visited economic units they analyzed the possibilities and reserves at hand for increasing the industrial and farm production, labour productivity and efficiency, for raising the activity in every domain onto a qualitatively higher plane, up to the requirements of the country's general development in the current stage and in the perspective prefigured by the documents of the 14th Congress of the RCP.

Botosani County, north-eastern Romania recorded powerful economic and social development in the years of socialism, that resulted in deep-going changes in its residents' work and life. It currently avails of an important industrial and agrarian productive potential with an important share in the national economy.

The atmosphere that prevailed during the Romanian party and state leader's visit to that part of the country disclosed the Romanian people's close unity around the RCP and its general secretary, the confidence that Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election at the 14th Congress of the RCP to the office of party's general secretary would ensure Romania's steady development, its unflinching advance to communism.

The visit touched the state agricultural enterprise and the cooperative producer farm in Dorohoi, important units of the county's agriculture, a show at the Popauti sheep-breeding research and production station that offered a telling image of the county's development in the years of socialism, especially after the 9th Congress of the RCP (1965) reflected in yearly bigger plant and animal productions. Likewise, the small-scale industry and the services to the population, featured in that show, have tangibly grown, especially in the commune centres, ensuring a better employment of manpower in the rural milieu, the preservation and enrichment of the folk art tradition in the region as well as important additional incomes for the working people. The Romanian head of state also saw round a glassware and earthenware enterprise in Dorohoi, a representative unit of the specialized Romanian industry, the very fine makes of which are greatly appreciated at home and also exported to numerous countries.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu to Botosani County continues.

Visit Continues

AU2109070989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1338 GMT 18 Sep 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Continues Working Visit in Botosani County"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/9/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu continued on Monday, September 18, the working visit in Botosani County.

At the Municipal Stadium where the helicopter landed, the distinguished guests were welcomed by Elena Nae, first secretary of the county party committee, by other representatives of the local party and state bodies, by thousands upon thousands of people.

All along the route up to the powerful industrial platform in the Western part of the city large numbers of working people from all localities of the county paid homage to the leader of the party and of the country.

The new face of Botosani, with its large boulevards lined by new and smart blocks of flats, with a modern architecture, is a proof of its growing economic force, of the upward course marked by deep-going revolutionary transformations it has followed in the years of socialism. Today's Botosani is among the known producers of machinery and equipment, fine fabrics, glass electric insulators and farm machinery, rubber technical items and automation equipment that are appreciated both at home and abroad.

The RCP and Romanian state leader's new working dialogue with collectivities of important industrial enterprises in Botosani City comprised an in-depth, on-the-spot analysis of the major aspects of development and modernization of production, of the way how the plan provisions are fulfilled, and allowed for the establishment on this basis of the measures to be taken for the unfolding of the whole activity in conditions of higher quality and efficiency.

Emil Bobu and Silviu Curticeanu participated in the visit.

The visit to economic units in Botosani City started with the "Electrocontact" enterprise that specializes in low-voltage apparatus, electronic and electric automation means.

The analysis made on the occasion covered the way of fulfillment of the important tasks deriving for the unit from the priority programs in the mining, power engineering and naval domains, from the 1989 plan, the ways and directions of action for the fulfillment of the plan provisions for this year and for the whole five-year period.

The visit continued at the equipment and spare part enterprise, the first machine-building factory in the county commissioned in 1972. First specializing in the

manufacturing of spare parts for the light industry, the enterprise steadily developed and diversified its manufacturing, extending it with an ever wider range of products for home requirements and for export, including electrical pumps and motor pumps for various branches of economy. Special heed was paid to the improvement of the products' quality, and the current manufacturing compares with world standards. The degree of renewal of products is currently 87 percent of the production of the whole unit.

Visited next was the "Moldova" textile enterprise, the unit's show of products, where the working dialogue of the party's general secretary with executives of the enterprise, of the central department and the ministry, with experts and workers, focused on questions related to the growth and diversification of production, the improvement of the products' quality, the increase of efficiency of the whole activity. It was pointed out that a good deal of the items produced there are on a par with world standards. New items were evolved, with a high grade of finishing and in a wide range of patterns and colours, and the value of the marketable production grew almost 33 percent in the last three years. A big part of the production is meant for export.

Then, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu arrived in an open car at the headquarters of the county party committee where they met with the members of the county committee bureau.

Couple Meets Local Officials

AU1809172389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1615 GMT 18 Sep 89

["Meeting With the Bureau of the Botosani County Committee of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/9/1989—On Monday, September 18, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu met with the Bureau of the Botosani County Committee of the RCP.

The first secretary of the party county committee reported on that county's results in industry, investment, agriculture and other areas and on the political, organizational, ideological, cultural and educational work that was carried through and also referred to the actions taken to remove shortfalls and improve activity as a whole, make up for arrears and fulfill the plan for 1989 and the current five-year plan provisions.

President Nicolae Ceausescu said that, though fine in general, the results were far below the county's existing possibilities and huge resources.

The party general secretary requested that existing units, the units to be built and the technical and material base as a whole should be employed at capacity through a proper organization of work, to thus provide for a double growth in the county's industrial production until the end of the quinquennium to come.

Referring to aspects of the activity carried on agriculture, Nicolae Ceausescu recommended that measures be taken to make the best possible use of existing possibilities with a view to further increasing plant and animal production.

A number of questions were also approached relative to the development and updating of the county's localities. The need was stressed to strictly observe legal provisions concerning the built-in area and the deliniation of the areas covered by towns and communes, to the judicious location of the new economic units in the county's territory, so as to provide for a most appropriate employment of manpower and for the strong growth of all localities. In that respect, he requested that all the plans for the economic and social development of all urban and rural localities should be discussed with all citizens and be finalized.

As for the party activity, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that the political, organizational, ideological, cultural and educational work should grow more dynamic, that the style and methods of work of the county committee, of its bureau and of all party bodies and organizations should be steadily improved.

Ceausescu Speaks at Rally

AU1809102089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Sep 89

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at mass rally in Botosani Municipality on the occasion of his working visit to Botosani County, on 18 September]

[Text] Dear Comrades: To begin with, I would like to extend to you and all Botosani County inhabitants, warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council, the government, and myself personally. [cheers, chants]

We are paying a working visit to Botosani. We visited four industrial enterprises in Botosani and Dorohoi, two state agricultural enterprises, a state research institute, a cooperative, and an agricultural research station. Generally speaking, we have gained good impressions about the activity of the working people in those enterprises and in all the county's enterprises. The overall industrial production increased by more than 8 percent, although, it is not up to plan provisions. However, we already discussed this matter with the county party bureau, in the enterprises visited, and with the ministers present here, so as to take all necessary steps to fully achieve this year's production plan by the end of the year. But, I repeat, we have gained good overall impressions from our visit, and I would like to extend warmest congratulations to the working people's collectives in the enterprises and agricultural units visited and to all the

working people and inhabitants of Botosani Municipality and County. I wish you all ever better productions and crops, in industry and agriculture, and in all spheres of activity. [cheers, chants]

In the years of socialism, Botosani County and Municipality have developed strongly, like all our country's counties and the whole country. Particularly after the ninth party congress and after the territorial-administrative reorganization with the formation of the counties, including Botosani County, the fixed assets of Botosani have increased by almost 10-fold and the industrial production by more than 11-fold; this represents a higher development rate than the nationwide average. This is due to the fact that Botosani County was among the counties most lagging behind in our fatherland. We had to make steady efforts to remedy the situation and we created a strong industry and a strong workers class with a revolutionary spirit; we strongly developed the socialist sector in agriculture, with the creation of the agricultural production cooperatives and the state agriculture, which, together, have ensured our great progress in agriculture. In spite of all this, Comrades, I must say that Botosani—I am referring to the whole county —must still make important efforts to reach the minimum industrial production of 50,000 lei per inhabitant, as was established by the 13th Party Congress. I discussed all these issues today with the county party bureau and we decided to take such steps as to attain these targets as soon as possible. Thus, Botosani County will achieve the minimum production per capita established by the 13th Party Congress and by 1995, in the ninth 5-year plan, will reach an industrial production of at least 60-65,000 lei per inhabitant. This potential exists here, and I am convinced that the party organization, all working people, and all inhabitants will take most resolute steps to attain these goals. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, all enterprises should take resolute steps to modernize and better organize production and work, to raise the qualitative and technological level of products, so as to increase economic efficiency in all spheres of activity. All Botosani enterprises and working people should do everything possible to ensure that their products have a high technical and qualitative level and can compete with the best products at European and world level. Only thus will our products make a contribution to the development of the fatherland and the expansion of our international cooperation and foreign trade. [cheers, chants]

Indeed, this year we have obtained good results in agriculture nationwide; in this respect, Botosani County has also obtained good yields of wheat, barley, sunflower, and other crops and there are prospects for good yields of more than 20 tonnes of corn per hectare, more than 70 tonnes for potatoes, more than 100 tonnes for beet, and so forth. You could hear what the chairman of the agricultural production cooperative, who addressed this rally, had to say about the yields achieved or to be achieved by the cooperative for corn, sugar beet, and potatoes. One can say that, by achieving such productions and ensuring their appropriate storage, in accordance with legal provisions, this cooperative can be sure that it will receive this year the high title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution. [cheers, chants]

If the entire county fulfills the planned productions of corn, beet, potatoes, fruits, and livestock, the county itself might obtain the high title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution for its results in agriculture. [cheers, chants]

I would like specify that this title is granted to counties which achieve the production levels established for them; the levels for Botosani are those mentioned here, namely, a minimum 20,000 kg corn per hectare, more than 100,000 kg for beet, and more than 75,000 for potatoes. Botosani's results for wheat and barley are good and in accordance with requirements. Therefore, efforts should be made to harvest the crops without losses and to store them properly, so that this year Botosani can obtain the high title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution. [cheers, chants]

The great industrial and agricultural achievements of Botosani County and the whole country clearly and undoubtedly prove the creative ability of a nation that has eliminated once and for all bourgeois-landlord exploitation and man's exploitation by man, has become full master of its national riches in all sectors, and is firmly shaping, united under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party, its free socialist and communist future, in full liberty and independence. [cheers, chants]

All these great achievements of the Romanian people in building the comprehensively developed socialist society are the result of the just policy promoted by our Communist Party, which is honorably fulfilling the historical mission of leading the whole nation toward the highest peaks of progress and civilization. One can say that only under the leadership of the party were we able to obtain these achievements and only by further strengthening the party's power and leading role, in close unity with the whole nation, will we achieve our long-term goals of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and paving the road for a transition to creating communist working and living conditions in our fatherland. [cheers, chants]

Generally speaking, Romania was a poorly developed country 45 years ago; it had a poor industry and a backward agriculture. In the meantime, we have achieved a huge increase in the industrial production, namely more than 135-fold, while agriculture increased by more than 10-fold. The largest part of these increases were registered after the Ninth Party Congress, which put an end to dogmatism, conservatism, and kowtowing to everything foreign, and ensured the true independence and dignity of the builders of socialism, by applying overall laws and the principles of socialism to realities prevailing in Romania. This is how we scored our great results in building socialism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

I have talked about the level from which all our country has proceeded, but it is well known that Moldavia was among the backward areas from the point of view of socioeconomic development, as a result of the domination of landlords, capitalists, and foreign monopolies. We have achieved a lot. I have just visited three counties in Moldavia: Iasi, Suceava, and Botosani. I have noted with great satisfaction the important successes that have been achieved in this part of the country and the rise in the general level of development, civilization, and standard of living. Our Moldavia has become a new Moldavia, the Moldavia of the working people, who are conscious builders of socialism, of well-being, and of happiness. [cheers, chants]

That is why, we can say with justified pride that only socialism could open up the path toward ensuring these great achievements, that only through socialism will we be able to ensure the continuous prosperity of our homeland, and within the framework of Botosani County as well, and of the whole of Moldavia, and we will see to it that all our nation, closely united, firmly advances towards the golden dream, toward communism. [applause]

Dear Comrades, currently, in our whole country, the entire nation discusses the documents for the 14th Party Congress, the congress of the victory of socialism and of the true independence and sovereignty of our socialist homeland. [cheers, chants]

The provisions of the program and of the theses, as well as the long-term programs for our homeland's development are well known. Within this framework, Botosani County and Botosani Municipality will develop strongly. During the discussions of these documents with our whole nation, we should work out development programs for all our towns and communes and in this way, we clearly map out the programs for our socioeconomic development, including the development of small-scale industry and of all the other social requirements in our communes. On this basis, we will raise the level of general development of all localities, create increasingly better working and living conditions for the inhabitants of communes, bring closer conditions prevailing in towns to those in villages, and raise the general level of the whole country to the modern requirements of the comprehensively developed socialist society which ensures the passage toward communism. [cheers, chants]

Everything we have achieved so far guarantees the fact that everything we envisage for the ninth 5-year plan and in the future up to the years 2000-2010 can be optimally achieved, that the overall development of our homeland will reach a high level of civilization from all points of view, that we will have a developed, modern industry, based on the latest scientific and technical discoveries, and that we will have a strong, socialist agriculture which can properly ensure everything that is necessary for the well-being and happiness of our whole nation and will contribute to the general progress and development of our homeland. We should do all we can and act with utmost determination in all our country—in Botosani, too—in order to achieve these magnificent targets, which will raise our homeland to the highest pinnacles of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

We should pay greater attentions to perfecting our whole educational system. I spoke widely about this subject in Iasi, at the opening of the school year. I spoke about raising the level of qualification and professional, technical, and scientific training of all working people, of our whole nation. We should see to it that all the inhabitants of Botosani, just like the inhabitants of our whole country, become people with important knowledge in all areas, who have a high scientific, technological, and professional training, armed with a broad revolutionary culture, who are ready to act in all circumstances as good patriots and revolutionaries, because only by working constantly in the spirit of the high responsibility for the interests of our nation and of socialism and communism will we be able to continuously develop and raise the general level of our homeland. [cheers, chants]

Dear Comrades, while working to implement the objectives of our homeland's development and socialist construction, we are carrying out steady activity to contribute to the finding of solutions to the great problems of international life in a new way. It is well known that, within its whole international policy, Romania has always done all it could to bring about the achievement of new relations, based on principles of complete equality of rights, respect for independence, sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs. We can say that today these principles are not only more markedly recognized, but are also applied, and we should do all we can to see to it that they are applied in the relations among all countries of the world, without any differences. [cheers, chants]

We firmly call for an end to the arms race and for general disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. We believe that everything possible should be done to ensure the total elimination of nuclear weapons from all over the world by the year 2000. We believe that today there is no more important issue in international life than disarmament, the elimination of nuclear weapons, the reduction of conventional weapons, and the ensuring of all conditions for peace and the free, independent development of each nation. [cheers, chants]

In Europe we should broadly develop cooperation with all states, regardless of their social system. We should work for a Europe of peace and cooperation, and for a united Europe of free and independent nations. Only in this way will Europe be able to ensure the progress of each nation and the contribution of this continent to mankind's general development. [cheers, chants]

We firmly speak out for broad cooperation in the Balkans and for turning our region into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons and free of foreign military bases. We believe that, within European security, the Balkans should become a strong region of wide

cooperation in all areas. In this way, we should create conditions for continuous friendship among our nations, in order to turn the whole Balkans into a zone of the well-being and independence of each nation. [cheers, chants]

We firmly advocate the complete renunciation of the policy of force and the threat of force promoted by some imperialist countries. It must be understood that the new world policy and a new way of thinking is incompatible with the old policy of force and dictate, and of interference in the affairs of other countries. We should resolutely start from the need of noninterference in domestic affairs and unswerving respect for the right of each nation to choose the development path it desires. We are convinced that peoples will choose socialism, because this is the future of the whole of mankind. [applause]

Romania firmly speaks out for the finding of solutions to all interstate conflicts solely through negotiations. We resolutely support the convening of an international conference on Middle East issues, in order to achieve a durable and just peace that can ensure the right to self-determination and the creation of an independent Palestinian state, and the existence and sovereignty of all states in that region. Only in this way can an end be put to this conflict which has been going on for a long time. We are determined to make our whole contribution to this policy. [cheers, chants]

Taking into consideration the very serious world economic situation, the continuous worsening—during this decade—of the situation of developing countries, which have become poorer while scores of billions of dollars from these countries have gone into the hands of international monopolies and financial capital, it is necessary to put an end to the policy of exploitation and oppression of developing countries as soon as possible. This is a requirement for the future of mankind and for the existence and peace of mankind. It is necessary to achieve a new international economic order of complete equality and mutually advantageous economic relations, which should favor the more rapid progress of backward countries and the development of all countries in the world and of the world economy in general. We believe that this is fully in keeping with the interests of all nations and states in the world. [cheers, chants]

As you well know, Romania liquidated its entire foreign debt at the end of last March, thus ensuring for the first time our complete independence from all viewpoints. We no longer pay tribute to anyone, under any form. Everything we produce belongs to the Romanian people. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, we have come to the assistance of socialist agriculture, by canceling debts of agricultural production cooperatives amounting to about 115 billion lei. This is proof of our economic strength and of the party-state policy of strongly supporting socialist agriculture and agriculture in general. [cheers, chants]

However, everybody knows that the developing countries are faced with a very difficult situation and have an overall debt amounting to about 1,300 billion dollars, which they owe to imperialist counties and the international monopolies and financial capital. Indeed, this is a very serious situation and a great obstacle to the development and independent socioeconomic progress of these countries. Therefore, Romania firmly speaks out for a global resolution of the debt problem of developing countries, through measures that I have often advocated in the past, including the cancellation of an important part and the long-term rescheduling of these debts, a reduction in or renunciation of interest rates for remaining debts, and the establishment of a low interest rate, not exceeding 5 percent, for future credits granted to the developing countries. We believe that a speedy resolution of this problem will contribute to a radical change in the world economic situation and international relations, and will truly pave the way for the elimination of underdevelopment and the promotion of the socioeconomic progress of all nations in the world. [cheers, chants]

In view of the complex and difficult political and socioeconomic problems in international life, we believe that steps should be taken in a new spirit, by employing a new kind of economic and political thinking, in order to do everything possible to solve these problems with the participation of all states. In this respect, I would like to emphasize the need for the active participation of small and medium-sized countries and of developing and nonaligned countries, which represent the great majority of mankind and are directly interested in a democratic resolution of problems, to the benefit of all nations. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, one should further increase the role of the United Nations and other international bodies in democratically solving the grave and complex international problems, in the interest of all nations. We are firmly convinced that, by acting in a spirit of full unity, the peoples and progressive forces everywhere can change the course of events and the current world situation, can promote a new kind of policy, can secure conditions for free and independent development, and can create a better and more just world, where arms and wars will disappear in the long run and where the nations can develop in close friendship, for their well-being and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Dear Comrades, in conclusion I would like to again emphasize that we have gained very good impressions about the work and activity of the working people in Botosani Municipality and County and about our meetings with the workers, peasants, intellectuals, young people, women, and all inhabitants of these lands. I consider the manifestations of welcome extended to me to be an expression of trust in the correctness of our Communist Party's policy and of the commitment to do everything possible to unflinchingly implement the targets for the future development of Botosani and—since my visit to this part of Moldavia is coming to an end—of

Iasi and Suceava, too, thus contributing to the country's overall development and the growth of Moldavia's general level. I wish you ever better results in this entire activity. [cheers, chants]

You are aware that there is a strong competition going on among the country's counties in order to welcome the party congress and to achieve all production targets for this year, in all fields. I believe that the working people of Botosani will also do their best to obtain an ever better place in this competition and, if possible, a front-ranking one. I would welcome it if, thanks to your work, you were to occupy first place. With this appeal, I wish you new successes and achievements and much health and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Return to Bucharest

AU1809173189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1620 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/9/1989—During the working visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu paid to the county of Botosani, a great civic rally was held in the county seat on Monday, September 18, which was attended by more than 50,000 citizens representing all segments of working people from Botosani and neighbouring settlements.

The meeting was opened by Elena Nae, first secretary of the Botosani County Committee of the RCP [Romanian Communnist Party].

Then President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

The speech made by the party general secretary was followed with full approval and satisfaction and was repeatedly punctuated with cheers and long applause.

After their working visit to the counties of Iasi, Suceava and Botosani, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu returned to Bucharest on Monday, September 18, at noon.

Ceausescu Greets Israel's Herzog on Birthday

AU2009082389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Sep 89 p 5

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Hayim Herzog, president of the State of Israel, on birthday]

[Text] To Mr Hayim Herzog, president of the State of Israel:

The anniversary of your birthday gives me the pleasant opportunity to convey to you most sincere greetings.

I also take this opportunity to extend to you wishes for good health and personal happiness and wishes for peace, progress, and prosperity for the Israeli people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Loncar Discusses U.S. Relations, Domestic Policy

AU1909093289 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 6

[Interview with SFRY Foreign Minister Budomir Loncar by Carl Gustav Stroehm: "Yugoslavia's Complicated Problems Can Be Solved Democratically"; date and place not given]

[Text] DIE WELT: You are guiding the foreign policy of a country which, one sometimes gets the impression, no longer agrees on the course. If one listens to your leading politicians from Slovenia and Serbia, for instance, it seems that there are not only fundamental domestic policy differences, but also foreign policy differences, for instance as regards the attitude toward Europe. How are you dealing with this?

Loncar: Every democratic process also entails conflict situations. In addition, I would like to say that the views within Yugoslavia which you mentioned, at least as regards foreign policy and the attitude toward Europe, are mainly full of conflict in tone. In reality they are not quite as contradictory. They are certainly no differences in strategic orientation. But in any case, these are circumstances which make it more difficult to pursue a unified foreign policy.

The unavoidable and legitimate differences of opinion are not the core of the difficulties. The difficulties for Yugoslavia's foreign policy and for me personally arise from the objective gap between our own development and the development in the world. More precisely, from our stagnation and the worldwide movement.

DIE WELT: Is there the danger that Yugoslavia will end up caught between the chairs of its nonaligned policy and its European efforts?

Loncar: This danger does not exist, because Yugoslavia has never been sitting on two chairs—a nonaligned chair and a European one. Its location in Europe and its vocation in the Nonaligned Movement have always complemented each other. One might even use the opposite terminology. However, it is true that sometimes it seemed as if Yugoslavia turned its back on Europe.

Until recently the entire movement (of the nonaligned countries) had adopted an obviously defensive position, almost an a priori disinclination toward worldwide developments. This impression arose because the nonaligned states had to objectively oppose the bipolar world. They had to separate themselves from the rivalry of the blocs, which threatened to drag them into their sphere of influence. But the actual core of this position was useful in the end, because this offered an alternative to the division of the world into blocs and advocated the unity of the world and its common interests. In short: relations in which the rivalry of ideologies and military aid are not the determining aspects.

Through the process of modernizing its actions and through reforms the movement has in reality adopted a very specific positive attitude under changed international political conditions. It has adopted a positive attitude toward the process of detente, toward the further advancing integration of the world—to such an extent that it also sees the concept of independence increasingly in terms of participation in worldwide integration. As regards nonaligned Yugoslavia, at the current stage its European orientation is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that 80 percent of our material and technological relations have been established with the European area.

DIE WELT: For a long time Yugoslavia has had relatively unproblematic, sometimes even very good relations with the United States. Now the U.S. Congress has condemned Yugoslav human rights practices in Kosovo. The current Yugoslav ambassador to Washington has been recalled ahead of time. There is the rumor that in Serbia he is accused of not having prevented decisions by the U.S. Congress that are critical of Yugoslavia. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic allegedly refuses to receive the new U.S. ambassador to Belgrade, Warren Zimmerman.

Loncar: I think that the bases of the relations between Yugoslavia and the United States have not been called into question. Neither Yugoslavia nor the United States have any reason for this. While these relations were exemplary in the past, today they fit all the more into the international practice. It is obvious that in this changed world, in particular, the sensitivity of the United States as a superpower toward Yugoslavia has changed somewhat. But this does not call into question what I said before.

It is something different when Congress is not objective toward the question of human rights in Yugoslavia; we do not want to judge to what extent this is the result of ignorance or of a one-sided look at the world in these issues. I, for my part, would ask where in the world human freedoms have been developed to the correct stage which we wish. I do not want to answer this.

But I repeat: There is no reason to doubt that the tradition of good and correct, mutually beneficial relations between Yugoslavia and the United States cannot be preserved.

DIE WELT: During the cold war Yugoslavia was of strategic importance to the West. In view of the new developments in Eastern Europe, is Yugoslavia not in danger of losing this importance?

Loncar: It is not only a new development in Eastern Europe. In the overall context of the worldwide movements, we cannot accord the same importance to our strategic situation and to our particular features which in the past also helped us to gain a certain authority. However, this is not a loss for us. First, the worldwide favorable trends also strengthen our security, and at a time when we are facing very great difficulties in domestic policy. Second, we do not lose either if someone else perhaps commands greater interest than

we do. What is more, we ourselves demonstrate such interest, because we believe that the experiences of our countries can only enrich our considerations and can finally help us in solving our own dilemma.

DIE WELT: The uprising of your Albanian minority in Kosovo is of increasing concern to the Western public. The overwhelming majority have more sympathy for the Albanians than for the Serbs. Do you think that Yugoslavia has done everything right in presenting the Kosovo problem?

Loncar: Your statement and the fact that the Kosovo problem is of increasing concern to the Western public does not bother anyone in Yugoslavia. However, what bothers us and what causes uneasiness and sometimes justified indignation is the one-sided consideration of this complicated issue. First: Has anyone ever really been interested in the remote and recent past of this area? Has anyone ever interpreted the available information about what it was like there yesterday and what it is like there today? Check wherever you want: Within Yugoslavia, Kosovo has had the highest growth rate in material, intellectual, and general development.

Second, Kosovo is a phenomenon in its way—an area in which an ethnic group, which is admittedly very numerous, enjoys such guaranteed rights that, for instance, they even get the post of head of state in line with the sequence of changes at the top of the Yugoslav leadership. But it is also a special phenomenon that, within the framework of Kosovo's autonomy, the minority population (the Serbs—the editors)—a population that belongs to a Yugoslav nation—has been pushed out and even endangered. In view of such a phenomenon, has anyone ever asked himself about the human rights of this minority?

One should first know that the complicated situation of Kosovo will be solved exclusively on a democratic basis—on the basis of the changes in the Constitution and the orientation toward reforms. Yugoslavia is aware that its entire democratic path and the reforms also depend on Kosovo and that they cannot develop by passing over Kosovo.

The way the West looks on the Kosovo problem not only depends on Yugoslavia, but also on how much the West will try to recognize the nature of the problem and understand our democratic course in this question. I do not want to comment on Tirana's activities. As regards Yugoslavia, we stick to the course of the development of good-neighborly relations but, permit me, we too have the right to point out that such relations also include noninterference. I do not deny that there have also been some weaknesses in the presentation of the Kosovo problem.

DIE WELT: You were Yugoslav ambassador to Bonn for some years. How do you see the relationship with the FRG and the GDR?

Loncar: I speak about the relations with the FRG with satisfaction—they are varied, good, and friendly. They are stable relations—in particular because they have been developed step by step and because every step of the relations was developed realistically, in the light of mutual interests. I permit myself to say that in the past our relations were far ahead of the general situation in Europe and that today they are strengthening this situation in many respects. With The GDR we also have highly developed relations and very comprehensive and good cooperation.

Belgrade Lawyers Visit U.S. Ambassador

AU1509204189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 89 p 7

[TANJUG report: "The Stances of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on the Reform of the Political System Are Very Progressive"]

[Text] Ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosovo, as well as ethnic Albanians with a Yugoslav orientation, have been subjected to—from a European point of view—incomprehensible and unprecedented persecution by Albanian nationalists and separatists, which has resulted in these people leaving their centuries-old homes. This has called into question the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

This is what members of a delegation of the Belgrade Bar, led by President of the Bar Veljko Guberina, pointed out the day before yesterday in their talks with Warren Zimmerman, U. S. ambassador in Belgrade. The reason for this meeting was a letter from the Serbian Bar in which lawyers expressed their concern and surprise over the news that both houses of the U. S. Congress endorsed an amendment in which the Yugoslav Government is criticized for violating human rights. The other reason was Ambassador Zimmerman's personal desire for this meeting.

According to the announcement the Serbian Bar issued today, Ambassador Zimmerman also expressed his interest in the stances issued by the Commission for the Reform of the Political System of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. He pointed out that he considers them to be very progressive, because they lead towards the expansion of human rights and the political freedoms of citizens, something which will help Serbia to be transformed into a modern, law-governed state. The ambassador was also interested in the criminal proceedings against Jovo Opacic. Representatives of the Serbian lawyers pointed out that what is involved there is the violation of elementary human rights. Opacic was accused for demanding that the rights of the Serbian people to their language, script, and cultural institutions be respected, the rights which the Serbian people enjoyed for centuries and which are now taken away from them. The announcement states that Ambassador Zimmerman pointed out that Washington and the American public will be informed about the content of these talks.

FRG Parliamentary Delegation Visits Belgrade

Received by Jovic

AU2009070289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Borisav Jovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, has received a delegation from the foreign affairs committee of the West German Bundestag. The subjects of the current economic and political situation in Yugoslavia, efforts to crush inflation, the reform and democratization of the political system, and the ninth summit of the Nonaligned Movement in Belgrade were discussed.

Borisav Jovic explained Yugoslavia's orientation as chair country of the movement to contribute to bringing together the interests of nonaligned countries and developing countries and the interests of the industrially developed countries, particularly in Western Europe.

Hans Stercken, the head of the Bundestag delegation, pointed out that these trends in Yugoslavia correspond to the integrational aspirations in Western Europe.

On the second day of the exchange of views, the parliamentary delegations of Yugoslavia and the FRG concentrated their attention on cooperation and bilateral relations, particularly from the point of view of the contentious issue of the introduction of visas. Hans Stercken, head of the West German parliamentarians, promised that Bonn would advocate that the problem of visas be favorably resolved.

The delegations also discussed Yugoslavia's cooperation with European integrational processes and financial institutions. Sterken thought that by entering the European Free Trade Association, Yugoslavia would become considerably closer to the European Community.

Further on Talks

LD1909223389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2115 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, September 19 (TANJUG)—The two-day talks between the delegations of the Foreign Affairs Committees of Yugoslavia's and the Federal Republic of Germany's parliaments made a success not only from the standpoint of bilateral cooperation in the future, but also from Yugoslavia's relations with the EC and international financial institutions, the two chief delegates evaluated at their joint press conference here this evening.

In the words of Hans Stercken, chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee, the talks wound up today were aimed at making a contribution to Yugoslavia's economic development by way of widening bilateral cooperation. Involved is a mutual interest, he evaluated.

Aleksandar Simovic, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly of Yugoslavia, voiced a hope for Bonn to support Yugoslavia's efforts to secure the Paris Club of Creditor Nations' understanding and come to a new stand-by arrangement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In reply to a question, Stercken said that he does not see bad consequences on the Yugoslav guest worker's position in the Federal Republic of Germany on account of a massive coming of refugees from the other German state. It has turned out that West Germany is in want of skilled workers, such as are coming in, he said.

Europe's and West Germany's relations with such a traditional partner as Yugoslavia will not be pushed into the background by reason of changes in Hungary and Poland which are attracting understandable attention in the Federal Republic of Germany, Stercken also voiced his belief.

Markovic, Norwegian Trade Minister on Cooperation

LD1809211189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—Today in Belgrade, FEC President Ante Markovic received Jan Balstad, trade minister of the Kingdom of Norway, who is heading a delegation of his country at the 20th meeting of the mixed Yugoslav-Norwegian economic commission. Franc Horvat, federal secretary for economic relations with foreign countries, took part in the talks.

Markovic and Balstad expressed interest in further advancement and expansion of the economic cooperation between the two countries. Apart from the shipbuilding industry, where very good results were achieved, the following were marked as areas of a possible cooperation: joint investments, direct ties between Yugoslav and Norwegian enterprises, exporting Yugoslav agricultural products to Norway, and tourism.

Minister Balstad expressed a special interest for new Yugoslav laws regulating economic relations between Yugoslavia and foreign countries. President Markovic said that Yugoslavia values highly Norway's support for Yugoslavia's program of stabilization in the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and the OECD.

Loncar Cites 'Decisive Step' at Summit

PM1909155489 Paris LE MONDE in French 9 Sep 89 p 6

["R-P. P." report: Yugoslav Foreign Minister Tells Us: Detente Must Be Economic Too"]

[Text] In an interview with LE MONDE, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budomir Loncar said that the ninth summit "constitutes a decisive step, a redefinition of the movement's role, strategy, and priorities." Now that the nonaligned countries have made this effort, "the North in turn must play its part so that we can seek solutions together," the minister said. He went on: "While the world is evolving toward political detente, the same cannot be said of the economic field. On the contrary,

the widening of the gap between between the developed and developing countries constitutes a social time bomb that creates instability."

In this connection Mr Loncar expressed regret that the appeal for a resumption of the North-South dialogue launched on the sidelines of the industrialized summit in Paris did not elicit "a more appropriate response." Nevertheless he welcomed the position of France, Canada, Italy, and the FRG on this issue.

Asked about the position of Yugoslavia, which on the one hand reaffirms its leadership of the nonaligned movement while on the other hand expressing a desire for a rapprochement with Europe, the minister said that "the two roles can be reconciled" and that these dual approaches are not at all contradictory. Indeed, Mr Loncar said, Yugoslavia acts as a connecting link "through which, at the wish of the member countries themselves, they are forging a rapprochement with Europe at the same time as Yugoslavia."

Marendic Says Government Should Resign

AU2109092289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 89 p 1

[D. Vucinic report: "All the Measures Reduce Prices"]

[Excerpts] The basic concept of the anti-inflationary program which the federal government adopted on Friday is aimed at permanently extricating the country from the present crisis and at preventing a similar situation re-emerging through economic systemic regulations.

This was stressed today by Bozidar Marendic, federal secretary for development and member of the Federal Executive Council, in today's news conference for national and foreign journalists. Marendic emphasized that the complete "package" of proposed measures, laws, and regulations are primarily concentrated on curbing and reducing inflation because conditions have now been created for this to be possible. [passage omitted]

The IMF Also Agrees

Foreign journalists asked Bozidar Marendic if the government had any problems with the IMF. Is there a danger that the debt will not be paid back? How will the new measures affect the underdeveloped regions and what happens if the Assembly refuses to adopt some of the proposed laws and provisions?

There have been no particular problems in talks with the IMF, said Federal Secretary Marendic. The talks are expected to conclude successfully at the end of the year. We do not need their money at the moment. The IMF otherwise supports the measures proposed by the Federal Executive Council. They are of such a type that the IMF itself is recommending them, although it is not "exerting pressure" for them.

As regards the underdeveloped regions, they will have more difficulties in the future. Welfare policy and special resources must be used to help them surmount these difficulties, but in the direction of reform and without a special economic system for them.

The repayment of the foreign debt is not a problem at the moment, but it could be if the debts are not rescheduled because we would be endangering our own development, said Marendic later on. He added that the Federal Executive Council is counting on the fact that we will in the future be able to form half of our otherwise increased social product through exports. If we manage to carry this out, the debt will not be a problem for us at all.

The Federal Executive Council has not discussed what it will do if the Assembly does not adopt the "package of measures" in its entirety, but it is sure that without it there is no guarantee that inflation will be brought down. "As far as I am personally concerned," said Marendic, "in this instance I would advocate the resignation of the government."

It is otherwise difficult to say how high the price of implementing all these measures should be, but it is certain that without their implementation there is no way out of the crisis. The weakest point of the realization of this program is the social unrest so its implementation must be in harmony with the level of social endurance.

BORBA Criticizes Sardelic for 'Serbophobia'

AU2009091289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 89 p 13

[R. Dubljevic commentary reprinted from VECERNJE NOVOSTI: "One Bench—Two Moralities"—date not given]

[Text] Coming as a guest to the last session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Celestin Sardelic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of Croatia, obviously prepared himself well while he was still at home. He knew what was on the agenda and what would be said off the agenda. Since the whole event was taking place on the open stage, he obviously did not consider his speech as a casual plenary episode.

Sardelic therefore appeared on the rostrum of the highest party organ in order to lecture, in part of his speech, the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina on interethnic relations, which could supposedly—if the Vojvodina leadership were to perhaps conduct a different policy—be better. Thus, the political leadership of a province was accused of spreading Greater Serbian ideas. The epilogue to this crazed attack was sorted out at the session itself with the adoption of the conclusions of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which said that Sardelic's criticisms were unacceptable.

Thus, one arrow missed its target. Sardelic found himself out in the cold, but in these difficult times, few people

will believe that he is really alone. His speech as member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia undoubtedly cast a shadow over this perhaps quite innocent leadership.

By taking advantage of the rostrum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Sardelic took advantage of the trust of his comrades from the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, as well as the patience of a people who are saturated with the speeches of politicians who are alienating them.

If he by some chance had to give his speech at the last plenum a title, Sardelic could calmly write the headline "Serbophobia." Infected with it, he will see a Greater Serbian invasion growing like an octopus and then spreading from 7 Francuska Street [premises of the Serbian Writers Club] in all directions throughout the homeland: toward Novi Sad, Knin, and other places where Sardelic sees it but has not said. Perhaps he will another time.

It therefore seems to us that the speech by Zdravko Grebo when at the last plenum he was relieved of his membership of the Central Committee at his own request was an honest political move by a man who, dissatisfied with many things, asked the Central Committee at one point to take a stance regarding who is really a political opponent. Grebo could not bear the truth that this is often in fact the person who "is sitting next to you in the same Central Committee," and departed.

Perhaps Sardelic is yet to come. However the question remains: How does one overcome a phobia and sit on the same bench?

Sipovac Hits Sardelic 'Fabrications'

LD2009092889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Vrsac, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Presidium, and Predrag Jereminov, member of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, today visited the municipality of Vrsac and had talks with the political and economic aktiv of this commune about the most pressing social and economic issues. [passage omitted]

Speaking to the political and economic aktiv of Vrsac, following a visit to Vrsac Vineyards, Sipovac noted firstly the constant worsening of the position of the economy, the growth in inflation, and the increasing social stratification in society. Such a situation, if it continues, could lead to an end to reform before it gets started. Speaking about inflation, Sipovac said that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] measures are not enough to stop social tension. The question is increasingly being raised as to whether such a concept takes sufficient account of the social tolerance of the population. It is clear that not all parts of Yugoslavia agree with radical moves, that is with an antiinflation program which would bring down inflation in the shortest possible time. Whether this should be a kind of shock therapy, freeze or something else, a clear and precise solution to this question should be found as soon as possible.

Speaking about interethnic relations, Sipovac stressed that Vojvodina, in accordance with its principled position, had openly stated what it thought about the decisive, timely, and effective action of the LC in stamping out phenomena which are disrupting interethnic relations in Yugoslavia. We were also guided by this, he added, when we proposed to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee that an examination should be made of the events in connection with the marking of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in the Knin region and their repercussions for interethnic relations. The worsening of interethnic relations in any part of Yugoslavia also has an impact on the situation in other environments, particularly those which are nationally mixed such as Vojvodina.

At the last plenum of the LCY Central Committee, however, Sipovac continued, we were attacked despite the fact that the LC leaderships in all republics and provinces had previously been recommended not to pursue the confrontation any further. Celestin Sardelic misused the LCY Central Committee platform and came out with a range of fabrications against the Vojvodina LC leadership. It is a good thing that the LCY Central Committee Presidium immediately took a stand on this unprincipled and inappropriate attack and made a statement resolutely condemning such behavior.

Sipovac also spoke about the increasingly vociferous demands from certain environments for a redefinition of the foundations of the Yugoslav Federation, or rather efforts to arbitrarily, and in contravention of the SFRY Constitution, alter the character and authority of the legitimate organs of the Federation. The assessments of the SFRY Presidency in connection with the proposed changes in the constitution of the SR of Slovenia also indicate this. Clearly the federal system of our country is being put to the test, Sipovac stressed.

A struggle is being waged over whether we are able to decide on the reaffirmation and foundation of our democratic socialist federation on the original principles of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], or whether in the end a cofederal concept of relations in the constitutional system of the country will be inaugurated, Sipovac said among other things.

Medjumurje Construction Workers End Strike

LD2009094489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1955 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Summary] Cakovec, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—The strike by more than 1,000 workers of the Medjumurje construction combine ended this afternoon, after the workers learned that their September wage will raise by 1.7 million dinars, which for low paid workers is a 100 percent pay rise. Furthermore, by the end of November, the workers will be informed about results of reduction of numbers of administrative workers.

Rakovica Workers Protest Inflation 13 Sep

AU2009141889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 89 p 1

[M.M. and I.R report: "They Did Not Hear Us"]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Sep—"We have come here because 1 year ago we asked the highest organs of Yugoslavia to hear us, to think about us, and not to forget us, our demands, and our situation. The results tell us that they did not hear us."

With these words, the Rakovica motor factory worker Milan Kljajic explained the reasons for their meeting at which several thousand Rakovica workers gathered on the premises of the 21 May plant carrying the flags of their collectives. The only slogan at today's meeting was "Workers of Yugoslavia, unite. Only we and we united can save Yugoslavia."

Speaking to the people at the meeting, who included not just Rakovica factory employees but also employees from schools, hospitals, and shops, Milan Kljajic stressed that the Rakovica workers would this time "rise up in defense of their class honor and human dignity" and that they want to defend their right to work and to live well from that work.

"We will not work in order to pay for other people's stupidity and irrationality and anyone's luxuries and bragging. We do not want opponents of the reform to offer us solutions and interpret our interests. We do not want them to postpone changes indefinitely, to invent excuses, and make us become alienated from one another. We are demanding that everyone does their own work, consciously and responsibly, and we are demanding a law-governed state in which work and laws are respected and which knows about responsibility and morality.

Afterwards, Milan Radojevic read a proclamation to "workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, youth, and citizens of Yugoslavia."

"We are both the first defense and last reserve of a self-managing socialist Yugoslavia. Let us speak out in unison and show everyone what kind of society we want to live in," states the proclamation, among other things.

At the end of this half-hour meeting, Milan Nikolic, president of the Communal Council of the Rakovica trade union, which also organized today's meeting, stressed that workers do not want to be put into a situation in which they would have to organize a general strike. However, if we have to, stressed Nikolic, we will not run from this.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Demands

We are demanding from the SFRY Assembly:

1. That it immediately adopts at its first session a comprehensive program for curbing and bringing down inflation which will produce results as soon as possible and in the short term, which we will immediately feel in real life and in people's living standard;

2. That the usurious interest rates policy be changed quickly and a unified taxation system introduced to prevent social property pouring into private hands and to prevent people becoming unjustifiably rich;

3. That the privileges of all those who represent us be scrapped, as a guarantee that they will bear the burden of the crisis on an equal footing with us.

4. That a specific welfare policy be adopted immediately at the Yugoslav level without delay which will allow every Yugoslav to live a life worthy of a person and their family;

5. That a program of creating new productive work places for employing the army of the many educated and capable people be formulated immediately.

6. We have clearly stressed our demands at today's meeting for the last time in this way. You now bear the greatest responsibility.

Stari Named Presidency Secretary General

LD1909230789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—Anton Stari, former secretary of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province Presidency, was appointed SFRY Presidency secretary general, instead of Ljubisa Korac, who is assuming a new post. Anton Stari was born in 1937, and is of Hungarian descent.

LCY CC Adopts Stand on Forming New Bodies

LD1909221389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

Today's session [of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee [LCY CC] adopted a draft decision on introducing the post of president of the LCY

CC, the manner of constituting an executive-political body of the central committee, and the duration of terms of office of the president and secretary of the executive-political body. According to the adopted proposal, the central committee elects its president, whose term of office would be 2 years. The president would head the work of the central committee and its presidium, as the executive-political body. [passage omitted]

Appeal to Stop Rival Nationalist Soccer Fans at Match

LD1809184989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—The committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection of the Yugoslav Football Federation today sent the appeal to the Dinamo FC and Partizan FC, as well as to the competent bodies of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and Socialist Republic of Serbia, in which it proposed that supporters of the Zagreb team [Dinamo FC] are not to come to Belgrade for a Sunday match between the two clubs.

The appeal was precipated by excesses and nationalistic incidents at the last match between these two rivals in Zagreb, and the fact that the upcoming match is known to supporters of Partizan FC and Crevena Svezda FC. [passage omitted]

Slovene Presidium Supports Constitutional Changes

AU1809210989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia today discussed a non-agenda item, the report which an expert body of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia prepared in the form of a review of the ideopolitical aspects of the amendments to the Slovene constitution. Its present stance, emphasizing that the Slovene League of Communists categorically defends the constitutional provisions in its republic, will be presented at tomorrow's session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Relja Atanasijevic has the details:

Concisely stated in the introductory speech by Ciril Ribicic, the debate, and the concluding speech by Milan Kucan, the stand of the Presidium of the republican Central Committee says: There can be no deviation from the constitutional amendments because as they stand, they are the sovereign right of the Slovene people and their will.

Ciril Ribicic considered it necessary to stress that there would be no contentious amendments, which have [words indistinct] the public in the country, if the viewpoints had not appeared that the right to secession had been finalized, that the federal chamber had been given the right to majority rule, that appeals had not been heard to withdraw accusations about a counterrevolution in Slovenia, that expert bodies of the state and political organs of the federation do not include in various draft documents serious words about the threat to stability in the state and its integrity and constitutional order, and so on and so forth.

Ciril Ribicic alluded to Serbia's offensive against the amendments to the Slovene constitution and said: Serbia and its popular leadership must find enough internal force so that its own ills and difficulties are not resolved to the detriment of the rights of other republics and peoples, and even the rights of nationalities. In this connection, he added that Slovenia is not demanding only what it itself is prepared to recognize and defend when it comes to other republics.

Instead of setting limits and making threats, said Ribicic, Slovenia expects the other parts of Yugoslavia and especially the federal organs, which are also Slovenia's, to respect and strengthen the constitutional rights and equality of its republic and people. The reverse of this would be fateful not only for Slovenia and the Slovene people, but would even put the survival of Yugoslavia at risk.

The Presidium of the republican Central Committee unanimously supported Ribicic's proposal that the review of the ideopolitical aspects of the amendments to the Slovene constitution by the body belonging to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia be rejected as biased, technically unsound, and politically unfounded. Joze Smole and Miran Potrc proposed that the material from today's session in Ljubljana be presented to the whole of the Yugoslav public.

Ivan Dolnicar said that the League of Communists of Slovenia is entering a great battle and expressed the belief that it would remain alone but that it must nevertheless persist without fuss until the end. Slavko Sorsak mentioned that the amendments are not the (?result) of pressure from the Slovene alternative groups and added, if they were to withdraw, pluralist forces would disqualify the republican constitutional commission and the League of Communists of Slovenia. Milos Prosenc dealt with the various interpretations in the country and the document by the Serbian presidency on the second phase of constitutional changes, advocating that Serbian stands on a different concept of a federal Yugoslavia be elucidated.

In the concluding speech, Milan Kucan mentioned that he does not deny the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia the right to discuss all these issues, but not in a way that could be interpreted as putting pressure on the will of Slovenia. He stressed that the adoption of the republican constitution is the sovereign right of Slovenia which demands only what it recognizes for others. The federation is not eternal and changes are a matter of agreement between sovereign peoples. All these issues are topical prior to the congress of League of Communists and will

be part of the debate on the new constitution. We cannot accept any attempt to impose obligations on the League of Communists of Slovenia against the will of the Slovene people, concluded Kucan.

This tale will continue tomorrow at the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Serbian SAWP Reduces Membership

LD1909215889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—The republican conference of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] in the future will have 232 members instead of the present 320 members, and its Presidium will number 32 instead of 49 members, today's session of the republican conference of the Serbian SAWP decided.

The number of members of the Supervisory Committee of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP will be also reduced, as well as the number of sections and committees attached to the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP from 25 to 21. [passage omitted]

The decision on the reduction of the number of members of the republican conference was adopted after a short discussion. A commission for the reform of the Serbian Socialist Alliance numbering 25 members was formed today.

'Serbian Mass Movement' Plans for Dalmatia

AU1509195989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 89 p 13

[Josko Celan commentary "The Kosovization of Dalmatia?" reprinted from Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA]

[Text] The newspaper report that this Wednesday and Thursday [6-7 September], first, the Board of the Serbian Writers's Association will hold its session—from which it will send a letter to the presidencies of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and of the SFRY "on the occasion of the latest events in Knin and its region"—and, immediately afterwards, the Serbian Writers's Association and Serbian PEN will hold a "protest literary meeting" on the subject "Knin and the Knin region" inevitably makes one recall the days when identical meetings were held on another occasion: Kosovo.

If there is still somebody who has failed to understand this, here is what it is all about: The intellectual ("spiritual") leadership of the Serbian mass movement has decided that the role of a new Kosovo should now be taken by Dalmatia (although this Kosovo-type treatment of Dalmatia has already been topical for some time).

And why Dalmatia of all places?

The answer to such a question can be as follows: Vojvodina and Montenegro have been more or less pacified; Kosovo has been transferred from this stage of intellectual and propaganda aggression into the jurisdiction of courts and the police. True, Bosnia-Hercegovina also features on the agenda—as can be seen from the examples of Knezina, Nevesinje, Sipovo, and other places—but the Serbian population there has not been sufficiently agitated and made ready for greater operations and the local (mostly Muslim) leaders show an enviable toughness (see speeches by Abadzic and comrades at the latest party plenum).

It is clear why the present priorities of the Serbian mass movement are Markovic's government and Dalmatia, and not, for instance, some other Croat region with a Serbian population. This is because the largest center where Serbs are a majority is here (Knin), as well as the biggest firm (TVIK)—which reminds one of the famous "revolutionary" communities (Jugoalat in Vojvodina and Radoje Dakic in Montenegro)—and because this is an economically passive region, something which has always been more suitable for "the export of revolution," because.... Let us recollect the score so far: Knin (the first time when "the people has appeared on the scene"), a few minor "events" (Parcici, Cetina, etc.), and the main thing—Knin (the second appearance of the people on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo battle). At the moment, we are at the stage of the appearance of the great martyr Jovo Opacic and his fellow villagers from the small but vociferous village of Plavno.

However, in order to be able to understand better the role planned for Dalmatia, one should try to anticipate (or put together some fragments in order to reconstruct) the general strategy and tactics of the Serbian mass movement: It's ultimate and ideal aim is a unitarianist Yugoslavia and its demands range from more moderate to hostile ones (those issued by Seselj, Draskovic, and the comrades). One is nearing the aim by working on broadening the Serbian rights in some communities in which the so-called antibureaucratic revolution has not yet won (Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia)....

...The aim of the said movement in Croatia is more or less clear: Its moderate version is to achieve, to a small or a greater extent, cultural autonomy for Serbs in Croatia, and the extreme version is to achieve political autonomy as well, that is, to create a Serbian Region [Srpska Krajina] and therefore break up Croatia in order to get a special addition for an imagined Great Serbia (one could first hear this in an announcement by the Belgrade Committee for the Protection of the Freedom of Thought and Expression, then in Simo Dubajic's interview to VJESNIK and, more recently, at the foundation of the Serbian ZORA Cultural Society)....

The first stage of this well-known operation is being carried out in Dalmatia (therefore, in Croatia) at the

moment. What is involved is information and propaganda aggression, through which leading centers are psychologically preparing the "people" for mass agitation....

This is what this stage of the information and propaganda aggression of the Serbian mass movement aimed at Dalmatia looks like, it resembles an attempt to Kosovize it. Will it agitate the Serbian people to such an extent that they will go out into the street again? For the time being, this is hard to believe, but it cannot be excluded (in this general setup of unfavorable events).

Croatia, of course, is not as powerless as Kosovo, but it is becoming clearer and clearer to many people that the way it behaves—generally, as well as on the occasion of the events in Dalmatia—has not been good for a long time.

Serbian Assembly Discusses Inflation, Kosovo

LD1509091289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Today the Serbian Assembly was in session. It focused on early general elections, on the economic situation, and on measures to prevent emigration from Kosovo. Here is Ljubisav Andric:

[Andric] Let us say firstly that the Serbian Assembly, at its first session this fall, decided to hold early general elections which should be concluded by the end of November of this year. These will be the first democratic elections, as stated, because delegates will be elected directly and by secret ballot from lists containing, as a rule, twice as many candidates as places. Legislators envisage the possibility that a group of at least 30 citizens can propose a candidate. In multiethnic enviroments, there will be dual lists, so that the principles of national equality and appropriate representation are fulfilled completely.

Regarding the economic situation of this republic, everything achieved under the powerful assault of incomprehensibly high inflation, which devalues everything in a short time span, was listed. This was an occasion for Dr Desimir Jevtic and representatives of the Serbian Assembly Executive Council to state to the delegates that this republic firmly demands, and as soon as possible, the adoption and consistent implementation of an anti-inflationary program. According to him, retreat in the face of inflation means giving up the reform.

Finally, the Serbian Assembly delegates energetically demanded the implementation of the Yugoslav program to end the emigration from Kosovo, and supported the stance of the Presidency of this republic about the need to keep some temporary measures in force in Kosovo. The delegates drew attention to the fact that League of Communists of Yugoslavia policy on Kosovo is being resisted not just in that province but also elsewhere. Some attempts by certain enviroments to oppose and prevent this policy, are feverish and almost absurd, it was said. It was also noted that Serbia is left almost alone in taking measures for the consistent implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo in the established way.

Serbia Issues Economic Statement on Kosovo

LD1809215189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 September (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia today considered issues relating to the economic and social development of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and the development of scientific and research work. It also decided to pardon a number of convicted people. The statement from this session says:

At a session of the SR of Serbia Presidency on 18 Sep 1989, presided over by Slobodan Milosevic, the economic and social development of the SAP of Kosovo was considered, as well as the basic directions for future development. The future socioeconomic development of the SAP of Kosovo should be placed in the framework of the overall development of the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia. In addition to the serious socioeconomic situation in the country, which reflects particularly unfavorably on trends in the SAP of Kosovo, the basic characteristics of the economic difficulties in this province are caused by considerable demographic problems and other inherited, as well as new, structural, material, and other inconsistencies, which lead to a deepening of developmental, economic, and social problems. Resolution of these problems depends on the speed with which the serious consequences of broken economic and other ties and a long-term isolation within republican and provincial economies are removed. For this reason it is vital to re-examine economic policy and directions for development, and to resolve demographic trends and systemic and other measures and activities being undertaken to this end in the Republic and the Federation, in order to achieve a policy for the more rapid economic and social development of the SAP of Kosovo. This activity should be based on programs for the rational utilization of natural, material, human, and other potential in the province. It should also be supported by the development of the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia, because without a successful comprehensive coordination of developmental aims it is impossible to achieve the inclusion of the Kosovo economy into the economic trends of the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia, or the more successful implementation of economic and social reform in the SAP of Kosovo.

In this respect, the processes of integration which have begun in the spheres of energy and railway transport, and the new initiatives in the development of industrial production, small businesses, agriculture, and the food industry, should boost new investments and help meet the demands of the modern economic and social development in this province of ours [passage omitted]

Kurteshi, Former Kosovo Leaders To Be Tried

AU1909134489 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 10 Sep 89 p 12

[TANJUG report: "Trial of Ilaz Kurteshi Expected Soon"]

[Text] Pec, 9 Sep—According to Zivojin Cvejic, president of Pec District Court, the former Kosovo leaders Ilaz Kurteshi, Isa Sokoli, Ilaz Ilazi, Jusuf Vishaja, Sahit Qehaja, Kadri Kastrati, Ibrahim Mulaj, and Radomir Petrovic will shortly be put on trial for inciting interethnic and religious hatred, division, and intolerance.

The charges leveled some time ago by Bujar Juniku, Pec communal public prosecutor, state that the accused abused their positions of authority. Through aiding the purchase of the property of the Djurisic, Lazarevic, and Pesic families by the Ukekaxhaj and Hasanaj families from Decani, they contributed to the emigration of these Montenegrin families. They did this, the charges state, in spite of the fact that they knew that the conflict between these families had been settled by a comprehensive legal verdict in favor of the Djurisic, Lazarevic, and Pesic families. By means of a compulsory purchase order, the accused enabled the Ukehaxhaj and Hasanaj families to evict the Montenegrin families from their property.

The district public prosecutor accuses Ilaz Kurteshi of exerting a vital influence on this illegal transaction in his position as president of the Kosovo Assembly, when, at the meeting of 27 September 1973, he informed delegates that the case was a matter of repairing the relationship of quarreling families. The decision was taken to pay 300,000 dinars out of the budget of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to the Hasanaj family for the purchase of the Pesic property, through the agency of Decani Communal Assembly, and 200,000 dinars to the Ukehaxhaj family for the purchase of the Djurisic and Lazarevic house and property.

The charges further state that the other accused persons, when in positions of authority, issued a compulsory purchase order, thus helping the Ukehaxhaj and Hasanaj families to obtain the Montenegrins' properties.

Kosovo Demonstrators Jailed for 30-60 Days

LD1809121189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0859 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Pristina, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—According to the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs, security organs have so far identified 1,665 participants in the hostile demonstrations of Albanian nationalist and separatists in March. A total fo 1,180 people have been charged with minor offences, while criminal charges have been brought against 56 demonstrators. The remainder have received so-called measures of warning.

Magistrate courts have so far punished 924 participants in the hostile demonstrations for minor offences, and proceedings against the remainder are still in process. In the majority of the cases, 30 to 60 days imprisonment have been pronounced, while the adolescents have been sentenced to 15 days imprisonment.

The demonstrators came from a wide range of social backgrounds but unemployed people are the most numerous. They are followed by students, workers, farmers, and artisans.

The report of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs also notes that a masked group of Albanian nationalists and separatists organized hostile demonstrations in Podujevo on 30 May. They shot at police and then ran away. The members of the group have been identified and criminal charges have been brought against them, but they have not yet been arrested. It is reported that the search for them continues.

Kosovo Assembly Notes Failure of Program

LD1309221589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—On average, one Serbian or Montenegrin family, that is more than three members of these nationalities, have been emigrating from Kosovo each day. Just in the past 6 months, 1,100 Serbs and Montenegrins emigrated from the province.

These figures, presented at today's session of the Kosovo assembly, are the best illustration of the absence of the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, and, in particular, the achievement of its basic goal: halting of emigration and a speedier return of Serbs and Montenegrins who emigrated.

Raif Vrbnica, chairman of the commission for the implementation of the Yugoslav program of the Kosovo assembly, warned that we should be skeptical of the information regarding a gradual decline of the number of emigrees. He said this is a consequence of increasingly small number of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and noted that emigration has increased by almost 50 percent in Vitina, Lipljan, Orahovac, Podujevo, and Prizren. In Gnjilane, Djakovica, Istok, Klina, and Suva Reka, about 1,000 family and individual demands for emigration were submitted, and the number of those who left the province without notification is not negligible.

Vrbnica stressed that in the past 6 months of this year, 312 members of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality have returned, but noted that this number is significantly smaller than the number of returnees for the same period last year. He warned that, despite the legal ban, illegal sales of estates and houses belonging to Serbs and Montenegrins to members of the Albanian nationality, as well as exchange of apartments, are flourishing. [passage omitted]

At the joint session, delegates supported the proposed changes to constitutional laws on implementing amendments 9 to 48 to the SFRY Constitution and to the

Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Delegates agreed without objections to the proposed republican law on elections.

Separate sessions adopted the law on creating new municipalities: Kosovo Polje, Obilic, and Novo Brdo. Thereby, although with a delay and after several months long discussions, this task from the Yugoslav program on Kosovo has finally been achieved.

Today a reply has arrived to Halit Ahmetij's delegates question about the faith and national and social structure of persons who were in the so-called isolation. The written reply of the executive council says that by the decision of the provincial secretary for internal affairs of Kosovo, and on the basis of the decision of the provincial executive council, as well as the special measures of the SFRY Presidency, 238 persons were sent to remain in a specific place. Against 20 of them, charges were brought and criminal investigations were set in motion against 55 of them.

The greatest number of those who were in isolation have a degree, and 16 of them held leading posts in enterprises. "The isolated persons" were first put in jails in Kosovo, but, after 28 March of this year, because of the increased number of detainees, they were transferred to jails in Leskovac, Vranje, and Prokutlje. This was, it is cited, done in agreement with the federal and republican secretaries for internal affairs of the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Serbia and with representatives of the republican administration of justice.

It is noted that the provincial secretary of internal affairs of Kosovo, immediately after learning that some workers in the district jails in Leskovac and Vranje misused their official posts, informed the federal and republican secretaries for internal affairs about this. The written reply stresses that the measure of isolation was lifted successively, so that by 12 July no person has been under this measure.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Views Situation

AU1509165689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] The 15th conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo will be held from 9 to 11 November. This was decided at the session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo. Here is Milivoje Mihajlovic reporting from Pristina:

The Provincial Committee has adopted proposals of documents for the forthcoming major meeting of Kosovo communists. According to the assessment by Tomislav Sekulic, secretary of the Provincial Committee, the period following the last conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo is marked by dramatic sociopolitical, economical, and security conditions. The escalation of Albanian nationalism has been worse than in 1981. There was an open attack against Yugoslavia and an armed conflict with the legal organs of the state. The activity of the League of Communists was not up to the difficult situation and was fruitless. Opposition to changes appeared primarily among the top party leadership of the province and the consequences of the incorrect political work still cannot be removed.

Sekulic pointed out that the unity reached in the League of Communists of Serbia has a decisive importance for breaking up the counterrevolution in Kosovo. After pointing out that one can no longer work in the old way, Sekulic established the curbing of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the resumption of interethnic confidence, and the struggle against Albanian separatism, as well as all other nationalisms as priority tasks of Kosovo communists.

Zivojin Martinovic from Kosovo Polje stressed that the activity on implementing ideological differentiation has been watered down and that this differentiation has been carried out only at the Provincial Committee Presidium. We are on the way to repeating our mistakes from the times after 1968 and 1981, because it is incomprehensible that some individuals whose responsibility has been pointed out for years are still members of leaderships, Martinovic said, and provided many examples. He stressed that those people who have been working against the interests of the Serbian people for a long time, cannot be its representatives in Kosovo. We should not allow people such as Borkovic, Seslija, Popovic, Jovanovic, and Colakovic, who have acquired luxurious apartments for themselves in Belgrade, to be members of leaderships.

Martinovic then said that he does not want to be member of the same body with Voja Zajic, Kacusa Jasari, Jovo Bogicevic, Budo Vujisic, Ali Sabani, Camil Rasica, Ragip Haljilji, and Kolj Siroka, because they bear a large part of the responsibility for the situation in Kosovo. After saying this, Zivojin Martinovic walked out of the session.

Criticizing this behavior, Rahman Morina, who was in the chair, said that Martinovic's gesture should be discussed by the Kosovo Polje Communal Committee and his basic party organization. The responsibility of some of the people mentioned has been assessed by party forums, including the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The other cases will also be discussed because differentiation is a permanent process.

At its session today, the Provincial Committee expelled Ferdane Cesku and Ismet Sumici from Titova Mitrovica from the League of Communists and released them from the membership in the Provincial Committee, because of their responsibility for November events and November strikes.

Police Identify over 1,600 Kosovo Demo Participants

LD1809193489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Pristina, Sept 18 (TANJUG)—The security organs are still looking for a group of ethnic Albanian

chauvinists and separatists who organized demonstrations in Podujevo on May this year, and shot at policemen, the Interior Ministry of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo said today.

A member of the masked group was shot in the [word indistinct] with policemen last May.

The members of the group have been identified and criminal charges were instigated against them.

The Kosovo Interior Ministry also said that the security organs have so far identified 1,665 participants in the demonstrations of ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists, which assumed the form of armed rebellion. Two policemen and 22 demonstrators were killed in the riots, while a citizen was killed by a stray bullet.

Criminal charges that resulted in the launching of investigation proceedings were brought against 56 demonstrators, charges for summary offences against 1,180 ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists, while the measure of official warning was taken against the remaining demonstrators.

A total of 924 demonstrators have so far been sentenced for summary offences (most received prison sentences ranging from 30 to 60 days, while minors received 15 days). The proceedings against the rest are still under way.

According to information from the Kosovo Interior Ministry, the majority of the demonstrators are unemployed, students or workers.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Rejects 'Claims'

LD1509223389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1913 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—It was announced today that the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee Presidium considered the operative tasks of the implementation of the conclusions from the latest session of this republic's League of Communists Central Committee. On this occasion attention was drawn to an increasing number of publicly voiced paternalist claims to and arrogations of Bosnia-Hercegovina, with attempts to provoke divisions in interethnic relations, such as the address given at the "Solidarnost" rally in Novi Sad. The Presidium considers the qualifications of some political issues in Bosnia-Hercegovina, presented in the latest issues of INTERVJU and POLITIKA of 2 September, as ill-aimed and unreasonable, something that represents a crude attack on the League of Communists's policy and the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Presidium assess that such acts do not contribute to the realization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee's conclusions on the necessity of stabilizing the political situation in the country and maintains that it is the obligation of all leaderships to invest all their efforts in implementing them in their environments.